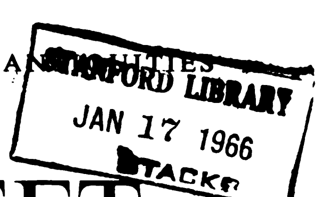
THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES



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Vier Stelen und eine Opfertafel aus Deir el-Medineh

STEN V. WÅNGSTEDT

Im Jahr 1961 erhielt die ägyptische Sammlung des Medelhavsmuseet einen sehr wertvollen Zuschuss durch den Erwerb von drei Grabstelen, alle aus Deir el-Medineh. Den Stelen sind in dem Inventarverzeichnis des Museums die Nrn. MM 18565, MM 18566 und MM 18567 gegeben worden. Zwei der Stelen, Nr. 18565 und Nr. 18566, sind nahezu unbeschädigt, während von der dritten, Nr. 18567, nur die rechte Hälfte erhalten ist.

Der Erwerb dieser Stelen war insofern wertvoll, als das Museum bisher nur zwei aus Deir el-Medineh stammende Denkmäler, eine Stele MM 32000 und eine Opfertafel MM 32001, besass[1].

Von den drei Stelen, welche vor dem Erwerb einem Privatsammler gehörten[2], war nur eine, Nr. 18565, vorher bekannt. Diese Stele ist von dem russischen Ägyptologen Boris Turaieff veröffentlicht und nach einer Zeichnung aus einem handschriftlichen Katalog über ägyptische Antiquitäten wiedergegeben worden[3]. Der Katalog, den Turaieff in dem Rumjantseff-Museum in Moskau gefunden hatte, war auf Französisch und rubriziert „Cette collection a appartenu a Ms Lidman, ministre du culte protestant, qui voyagea en Egypte 1815". Da es von grossem Interesse ist, von diesem Katalog Kenntnis zu nehmen, sind in Moskau Nachforschungen unternommen, welche aber bis heute erfolglos geblieben sind[4].

Der Besitzer der Kollektion ist mit dem schwedischen Theologen und Orientalisten Sven Fredrik Lidman identisch, der von etwa 1811 bis 1817 als Prediger bei der Schwedischen Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel angestellt war. Während seiner Reisen im Vorderen Orient hatte er eine erhebliche Sammlung von Antiquitäten, u.a. ägyptischen, zusammenbringen können, die

[1] Früher im Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NME 28 und NME 20 (J. D. C. Lieblein, Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlemningar i National-Museum, Stockholm 1868, S. 24 und S. 21). Die beiden Denkmäler, welche dem im Jahr 1928 gegründeten Ägyptischen Museum als Deposition übertragen wurde, sind von Maria Mogensen publiziert worden (Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm, Copenhague 1919, S. 45 f. und S. 30.). Da die Denkmäler in der angeführten Arbeit etwas summarisch behandelt sind, scheint mir eine erneute Veröffentlichung begründet zu sein.

[2] Branddirektor Sven Arwidsson, Lidingö.

[3] Zapiski Klassitsheskogs Otdelenia Imperatorskogo Russkogs Arkheologitcheskogo Obshtchestva, Vol. 2, Petersburg 1913, S. 17 ff.

[4] Herrn Dr. Staffan Dahl von der Königlichen Bibliothek in Stockholm, der es gütig übernahm zu versuchen, den Katalog aufzuspüren, bin ich zu grossem Dank verpflichtet.

aber im Jahr 1818 in Konstantinopel zum grössten Teil durch Feuer vernichtet wurde.

Wann und woher der oben genannte Privatsammler die Stelen erworben hat, ist mir unbekannt. Ebenso dunkel ist das Schicksal der linken Hälfte der Stele Nr. 18567.

Über die beiden Denkmäler MM 32000 und MM 32001 liegen nur sehr dürftige Notizen vor. Im Jahr 1826 wurde die ägyptische Sammlung des damaligen Königlichen Museums durch eine Stiftung des schwedischen Vizekonsuls in Alexandria, Giovanni d'Anastasy gegründet. Kein erforderliche Aufschlüsse enthaltendes Verzeichnis über die erhaltenen Antiquitäten scheint aber angelegt worden zu sein. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Stiftung des ehemaligen schwedischen Botschafters beim Ottomanischen Tor, Nils Gustaf Palin, im Jahr 1833 gemacht[5], sowie für spätere Schenkungen[6]. Es dürfte aber nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich sein, dass die beiden Denkmäler schon 1826 dem Museum übergeben worden sind[7].

Stele (Abb. 1)
MM 18565[8]. *Material:* Kalkstein. *Grösse:* 34 × × 22,5 × 5 cm.
Datierung: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft:* Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben gerundete Stele ist in zwei wagerechte, hauptsächlich bemalte Darstellungen tragende Register eingeteilt. Vor der Farbengebung der verschiedenen Darstellungen ist die Fläche der Stele mit einer gelblichen Grundfarbe überzogen worden.

Das obere Register zeigt in Flachrelief und gegeneinandergewandt den Ibisköpfigen Mondgott Iah[9] und die als Schlange wiedergegebene Erntegöttin Renenut[10]. Der Kopf des Mondgottes, weiss mit schwarzem Schnabel und rotem Auge, ist von einer dunkelblauen, in breiten Streifen endenden Perücke umrahmt und mit dem Emblem des Gottes gekrönt. Das Emblem, in Gestalt eines von einer Sichel umgegebenen Mondballs, ist aus gelbbraun gestrichenem Feuerstein hergestellt und mit Zement in Aussparungen in der Stele festgehalten[11]. Der Gott, der sitzend dargestellt ist, trägt einen breiten, dunkelbraun gefärbten Halskragen und hält in der auf den Knien ruhenden linken Hand eine Schreibpalette[12]. Der Körper und die Palette sind rotbraun bzw. braun. Vor dem Gottesemblem steht „Iah, der grosse Gott"[13].

Der Kopf der Göttin Renenut ist von einem Rindergehörn mit Sonnenscheibe gekrönt, von denen die letztere in Gestalt eines eingelassenen, rotbraun gefärbten Feuersteinknollens (teilweise abgesplittert) ist. Das Gehörn ist in schwarzer Farbe gezeichnet. Der äusserst detailliert aus-

[5] In einem Königlichen Brief vom 24. Aug. 1833 wird von dieser Stiftung nur gesagt, dass dem Museum eine grosse Menge ägyptischer Antiquitäten verehrt wurde.

[6] Die Schenkung eines Schiffsreeders Polack sowie wiederholte Schenkungen von G. d'Anastasy.

[7] Aus einem Königlichen Brief vom 31. Aug. 1826 geht hervor, dass die Stiftung u.a. „Tolf fyrkantiga Kalkstens-Pilastrar af åtskilliga storlekar, föreställande, i upphöjdt arbete, offerscener, samt dessutom prydde med hieroglyphiske inhuggningar" enthielt. Die Bezeichnung „Kalkstens-Pilastrar" bezieht sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf „Grabstelen", worauf auch die begleitende Beschreibung hindeutet.

[8] Berta Porter & Rosalind Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, I:2, Oxford 1964, S. 734.

[9] Über diesen im thebanischen Gebiet verehrten Gott siehe H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, s.v. Joh.

[10] Über diese Göttin siehe Bonnet, a. A., s. v. Thermutis.

[11] Vgl. J. Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collections, Oxford 1958, Nr. 4.

[12] Die Schreibpalette, das Attribut des Gottes Thot, zeigt, dass Iah als eine Form des Thot aufzufassen ist. Die Identifizierung der beiden Götter miteinander, welche in der 18. Dynastie stattfand, geht u. a. aus dem Namen Iah-Thot hervor, unter welchem der Mondgott nicht selten auftritt. Vgl. R. Lanzone, Dizionario di mitologia egizia, Vol. 1, Torino 1881, Pl. 36 f.; ÄZ 72, 1936, Pl. 7:4; B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1935–1940), Fasc. 2, Le Caire 1952, Pl. 10. Vgl. auch Bonnet, a. A.

[13] Statt „der grosse Gott" ist auch die Lesung des Epithetons als „der gute Gott" (*nṯr nfr*) möglich.

Abb. 1. Stele des Ramose (MM 18565).



geführte Schlangenkörper ist dunkelbraun, mit den verschiedenen Einzelheiten in schwarz, weiss, braun und rot. Die begleitenden Texte lauten: „der Re" (über der Sonnenscheibe) bzw. „die Renenut"[14].

Das untere Register zeigt in Flachrelief einen Mann in adorierender Stellung vor den von Kartuschen umschlossenen Namen Ramses II. *(Rᶜ-mśś-mrj-Ỉmn) (Wśr-m ᶜ. t-Rᶜ -śtp-n-Rᶜ)* knieend. Er trägt eine geflochtene schwarze Perücke[15], einen kurzen, in schwarzer Farbe angedeuteten Kinnbart, Halskragen und Armbänder und ist mit einem gefalteten, teilweise braun gefärbten, weissen Gewand bekleidet. Die unbedeckten Körperteile sind rotbraun.

Die Kartuschen sowie die einzelnen Zeichen der Königsnamen sind in Flachrelief und in verschiedenen Farben gemalt. Auf den freien Flächen neben dem knieenden Mann steht die folgende Inschrift:

„Gemacht von dem königlichen Schreiber an der Stätte der Wahrheit[16], Ramose, den Seligen, den Sohn des Amenemheb, geboren von der Hausfrau Kakaia, der Seligen."

Ramose, für welchen diese und die folgende Stele (Nr. 18566) gemacht worden sind, ist aus mehreren anderen Denkmälern (u.a. Stelen) bekannt[17]. Als einer der reichsten Einwohner der besonderen Stadtbildung, in der die Arbeiter und Künstler wohnten, die mit dem Aushauen und der Schmückung der Felsengräber der Könige und Königinnen des Neuen Reiches beschäftigt waren, und der unter dem Namen Deir el-Medineh bekannt ist, hat er sich in der Stadtnekropole drei Gräber anlegen lassen[18]. Ramose hat eine hervorragende amtliche Stellung in der Arbeiterstadt bekleidet, was u.a. aus den auf einer seiner Grabstelen notierten Titeln hervorgeht[19]. In dem 5. Regierungsjahr des Ramses II. wurde er zum „Königlichen Schreiber am Grab des Königs" ernannt[20].

Stele (Abb. 2)

MM 18566[21]. *Material:* Kalkstein. *Grösse:* 32,3 × × 20,5 × 4 cm.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft:* Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben gerundete Stele, die bis auf einige in der linken Seite lokalisierte Beschädigungen gut erhalten ist, enthält eine an den Sonnengott Amun-Re gerichtete Anrufung. Unten rechts erscheint der Anrufende, knieend und mit in Adoration erhobenen Händen. Der Adorant, derselbe Ramose wie auf der Stele Nr. 18565, ist in vertieftem Relief dargestellt. Er trägt eine halblange Perücke[22], einen Halskragen und ein plissiertes Gewand. Von der ursprünglichen Bemalung sind nur die gelblichbraune Grundfarbe der Stelenfläche und schwache Spuren der rot-

Abb. 2. *Stele des Ramose (MM 18566).*

[14] Der Name der Göttin ist hier mit Artikel geschrieben. Vgl. griech. Θερμοῦθις.

[15] Ein längeres Modell der kurzen nubischen Perücke. Vgl. C. ALDRED, BMMA XV, 6, 1957, S. 141 ff.

[16] „Die Stätte der Wahrheit" als Bezeichnung des Grabes des Königs (bzw. der Königin) in der Nekropole Thebens.

[17] PORTER & MOSS, a. A., S. 861.

[18] Nr. 7, 212, 250. PORTER & MOSS, Bibliography etc., I:1, Oxford 1960.

[19] Auf einer seiner Grabstelen nennt er sich „Vorsteher des Schatzhauses in dem Hause (Tempel) des Mencheperure (Thutmosis IV.)", „Vorsteher der Verwaltung in dem Hause des Vorstehers der Siegelträger", „Viehschreiber des Amun-Re", „Hilfsbriefschreiber des Kronprinzen (Ramses II.)", „Vorsteher der Arbeiten im westlichen Theben" und „Vorsteher des Schatzhauses an der Stätte der Wahrheit" (ČERNÝ, a. A., Nr. 4). Über die Biographie des Ramose siehe, BRUYÈRE, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1935–1940), Fasc. 3, Le Caire 1952, S. 13 ff.

[20] Vgl. ČERNÝ, ib.

[21] PORTER & MOSS, Bibliography etc., I:2, S. 734.

[22] Die Perücke hat hier eine andere Form als in Nr. 18565.



braunen Farben der unbedeckten Körperteile des Adoranten erhalten.

Die Anrufung, die neun senkrechte Zeilen umfasst, lautet folgendermassen:

[23] Von dem Stier ist der Schwanz sichtbar.

[24] Zur Ergänzung vgl. Recueil de Travaux relatifs etc., 2, 1880, S. 176: XXXI; 3, 1882, S. 104: CIV; 4,1883, S. 147:XXVIII. Zur Orthographie vgl. die angeführten Beispiele.

[25] Wohl so zu ergänzen.

[26] Der Schreiber hat zuerst ein geschrieben, das in ein umändert worden ist.

„(1) Gepriesen sei Amun-Re, der [Stier] in Theben, der herrliche Gott, der sich über die Wahrheit freut in diesem seinem Namen von Hor-Achti [-Tum, dem Herrn der beiden Länder, dem Heliopolitaner, gross] an Kraft, Herrscher der Neunheit, der (2) [grosse Gott, der] sich selbst [erzeugt] hat, der für den Bedarf der Menschen und der Götter sorgt und den Hapi gebracht hat für ihre Nahrung, und (der) alle Menschen, Untertanen, (und) Menschen am Leben erhält. (3) [Er] hört die Armen, wenn (sie) ihn anrufen. Er gibt ein Begräbnis dem, der ihm untertänig ist. Du lässt mich schauen deine Schönheit jedesmal, wenn Du aufgehst. Meine Augen sehen Deine Strahlen . . . (4) . . . Gegrüsst sei Du, der Erste seines Frauenhauses. O Grosser, Oberster der Götter! Ich preise Dich bis zur Höhe des Himmels. Ich preise Dein Antlitz. (5) Sei mir gnädig in Deinen Erscheinungsformen an jedem Ort, in dem Du bist. Ich jauchze, weil ich Dich liebe in (6) Deinen Gestalten als Leuchtender. Mein Körper ist gesund bei dem Begleiten deines Ka an seinem Fest am Jahrestag. (7) Möge (mein)[27] Name genannt werden nach Jahren, wie jeder Gerechte. Möge jeder Bittsteller erhört werden (8) jedesmal, wenn Re am Himmel aufgeht. Für den Ka des königlichen Schreibers an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Ramose, des Seligen, des Dieners des Ptah, der seine Lehre kennt."

Stele (Bruchstück) (Abb. 3)

MM 18567[28]. *Material:* Kalkstein. *Grösse:* 20,2 × × 14,5 × 3,4 cm.

Datierung: 19.—20. Dynastie. *Herkunft:* Deir el-Medineh.

Von der oben gerundeten Stele, die für einen Arbeiter in der königlichen Nekropole, namens Mesu, gemacht worden ist, ist nur die in drei Stücke zerbrochene, rechte Hälfte erhalten. Die Vorderfläche der Stele ist mit einer gelblichen Grundfarbe bestrichen und in zwei Register eingeteilt.

[27] Das Personalsuffix im Text ausgelassen.

[28] PORTER & MOSS, Bibliography etc., I: 2, S. 725.

Das obere Register zeigt, in vertieftem Relief, das Sonnenschiff mit dem Sonnengott Shu. Von dem letztgenannten ist nur ein Teil der Beine auf dem Bruchstück sichtbar. Vor dem Gott sind sein Name, hier „der Shu" (Pshu) geschrieben[29], die Symbole [30] und das schutzbringende Horusauge *wḏꜣ.t*.

[29] Vgl. ČERNÝ, a. A., Nr. 6.
[30] Nach J. CAPART ist das Symbol ein Substitut für den Gott Seth, der mit seiner Lanze die Schlange Apophis und die Feinde des Gottes tötet (ÄZ, 36, 1898, S. 126.).



In dem unteren Register sind — in vertieftem Relief — die Frau und der Sohn des Mesu in adorierender Stellung dargestellt, welche eine Anrufung an den Himmelsgott rezitieren. Über ihnen steht [31] „(die) Hausfrau Sheri[-Re]" bzw.:

„sein Sohn Huj, der Selige".

Die ursprünglich in bunten Farben gemalten Darstellungen sowie die vorkommenden Inskriptionen sind ziemlich flüchtig ausgeführt. Der Anruf, von dem der Schluss erhalten ist, lautet:

„(× — 1) ... Du gehst unter (?). Ich kenne (2) das Gesagte. Deine Stärke (3) gehört den Fischen des Meeres (4) (und) den Vögeln des (5) Himmels. (Gesagt) von dem Diener der Stätte der Wahrheit (6) Mesu, dem Seligen, seiner Gattin, der Hausfrau (7) Sheri-Re, der Seligen, seinem Sohn (8) Huj, dem Seligen."

Der Anruf der ziemlich kurzgefasst ist[32], wird — wie aus dem Text hervorgeht — auch von Mesu hergesagt, der vor seiner Frau abgebildet

[31] Das Zeichen für Re ( ) im Text ausgelassen.
[32] Die fehlende Stelenhälfte, dürfte kaum mehr als vier Textzeilen enthalten haben.

Abb. 3. Stele des Mesu (MM 18567).



gewesen ist (auf dem Bruchstück ist die Umrisslinie der Unterseite seines linken Fusses deutlich erkennbar)[33].

Stele (Abb. 4)

MM 32000[34]. *Material:* Kalkstein. *Grösse:* 33×
×23×2,5 cm.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie. *Herkunft:* Deir el-Medineh.

Die oben abgerundete Stele ist in ihrem unteren Teil durch tiefgehende Absplitterungen stark beschädigt. Die Vorderseite ist in zwei Felder geteilt, mit vorkommenden Bilddarstellungen in vertieftem Relief.

Das obere Feld zeigt den falkenköpfigen Gott Harsiese, auf einem Sessel sitzend[35]. Er trägt die Doppelkrone (zum grössten Teil ausgetilgt), eine lange geflochtene Perücke, breiten Halskragen, Armbänder und ist mit einem eng anliegenden gefalteten Lendenschurz bekleidet. In der vorgestreckten linken Hand hält er das *wꜣś*-Zepter, in der rechten das *ᶜnḫ*-Zeichen, das Symbol des Lebens. Vor dem Gott steht ein schmaler hoher Opfertisch mit einem Libationsgefäss. Hinter dem Sessel ist ein Symbol abgebildet[36].

Über dem Gott steht die folgende, zum Teil zerstörte Beischrift:

1 … 2 […] … 3 […][37]

„Horus, Sohn der [Isis], der Herrscher [der Götterneunheit]."

[33] Mesu und seine Familie ist m. W. nur aus diesem Stelenbruchstück bekannt.

[34] Vom Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, deponiert (NME 28). PORTER & MOSS, Bibliographie etc., I: 2, S. 726.

[35] Über den Gott Harsiese siehe BONNET, a. A., S. 275 f.

[36] Für andere ähnliche Symbole vgl. z.B. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, Stèles du Nouvel Empire, Nr. 34070 und 34073, K. LANGE-M. HIRMER, Aegypten, München 1955, Pl. 128, MARIA MOGENSEN, La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague 1930, Pl. CII. Vgl. auch Recueil de Travaux relatifs etc. 27, 1905, S. 173 f.

[37] Zur Ergänzung vgl. Hieroglyphical Texts etc. from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, Part V, London 1914, Nr. 467, Pl. 43.

Abb. 4. Stele des Nachi (MM 32000).

Vor dem Gott verrichtet ein Mann ein Rauchopfer. Dieser trägt eine lange Löckchenperücke, Halskragen und Armbänder und ist mit einem von den Hüften bis auf die Unterschenkel reichenden, gefälteten Doppelschurz bekleidet. Er hält in der einen Hand ein Gefäss mit brennendem Weihrauch, dessen Unterständer (?) hinter ihm steht. Über und hinter dem Opfernden steht:

1 … sic 2 … 3 … […]

„der grosse Künstler an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Nachi, der Selige[38]."

In dem unteren Feld sind drei Verwandte des Nachi, knieend und mit erhobenen Händen, dargestellt. Zwei von ihnen halten in der einen Hand ein Gefäss mit brennendem Weihrauch. Alle drei tragen, wie Nachi, eine lange Löckchenperücke, den üblichen Hals- und Armschmuck und wahrscheinlich auch denselben gefälteten Doppelschurz.

Die Verwandten, deren Namen die begleitenden Inschriften anzeigen, sind:

1 … 2 … 3 …
4 … 5 … 6 …
7 … 8 … […][39]

„Sein Sohn, der Diener an der Stätte der Wahrheit, Buqentuef, der Selige; sein Enkel Qen, der Selige; sein Enkel Nachi, der Selige."

Opfertafel (Abb. 5)

MM 32001[40]. *Material:* Kalkstein. *Grösse:* 37,5×
35×8,5 cm.

Datierung: 19.–20. Dynastie. *Herkunft:* Deir el-Medineh.

Die Opfertafel, von einem beschrifteten Rahmen mit angeschlossenem Ausgussvorschuss umgeben, hat die Form der Hieroglyphe .

[38] Nach BRUYÈRE soll Nachi mit Ramose verwandt sein [Rapport ... (1935–1940), Fasc. 3, S. 15].

[39] Das letzte Zeichen ist auf der Stele hinter das Personendeterminativ senkrecht geschrieben.

[40] Vom Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, deponiert (NME 20). PORTER & MOSS, Bibliography etc., I:2, S. 744.



Abb. 5. Opfertafel des Tjai (MM 32001).

Die Fläche der Tafel ist mit in vertieftem Relief ausgeführten Darstellungen verschiedener Opfergaben gefüllt, die — wie es scheint — einer absichtlichen Zerstörung ausgesetzt worden sind. Die folgenden Darstellungen lassen sich indessen mit ziemlicher Gewissheit identifizieren: ein Korb oder Gefäss, mutmasslich mit Früchten irgendeiner Art, zwei grössere runde Kuchen und zwei lange Brote. Über je einem der Kuchen liegt ein Fleischstück (?)[41] und oben rechts ein Lotusstrauss sowie ein Fleischstück. Die übrigen Opfergaben sind unidentifizierbar.

Die auf dem Rahmen gegenseitig angeordneten Inschriften lauten:

„Der König sei gnädig und gebe ein Opfer (und) Djeser-ka-Re[42], der Sohn der Sonne, Amenhotep, der ewig und immerdar mit Leben beschenkt ist. Gemacht von dem Diener an der Stätte der Wahrheit Tjai[43]."

„Der König sei gnädig und gebe ein Opfer (und) das Gottesweib Ahmes-nefertere, möge sie ewig und immerdar leben. Gemacht von dem Diener an der Stätte der Wahrheit Tjai."

Die Wunschformel der Opfertafel sind an die beiden als Schutzgötter der thebanischen Nekropole verehrten königlichen Personen, Amenophis I., den ersten König der 18. Dynastie, und seine Mutter Ahmes-nefertere, die als die erste wirkliche „Gottesgemahlin des Amun" zu betrachten ist, gerichtet. Der Kult wurde vor allem von den Nekropolenarbeitern in Deir el-Medineh betrieben[44].

[41] Oder Zwiebelbündel?

[42] Der Vorname des Königs Amenophis I. (1536–1517 v. Chr.).

[43] Tjai ist nur aus diesem Denkmal bekannt.

[44] Vgl. Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la necropole thébaine (BIFAO 27, 1927, S. 159 ff.); vgl. auch Bonnet, a. A., S. 20 f.

Two Royal Heads from Amarna

Studies in the Art of the Amarna Age

BENGT JULIUS PETERSON

The radical and profound structural change in Egyptian religion and art that may be observed during the brief period of time in the fourteenth century B.C. which is named the Amarna Age, had in its ideas and concept existed earlier, but latently. The great breakthrough came, however, with the accession to the throne of Amenophis IV and, along with a reform of religion, led to a unique departure in the case of art from the conventional and conservative pattern which Egyptian art had followed for centuries.

The religious revolution of Amenophis IV, which involved a monotheistic worship of Aton, the sun-disc, had been prepared beforehand. This divinity was not the king's creation[1], but the stressing of it was largely the work of the king. The reformation quickly gained a hold, as in certain circles it was a distinct help in meeting the religious needs of the period.

The art that was now created in conjunction with the new religous ideals, is chiefly characterized by a widespread striving after truth and reality in representations and, especially in those of the human form, by a conscious accentuation of the individual, while nevertheless displaying a thorough stylization. Similar trends in art, primarily in tomb painting, had already been noted in the time of Thutmosis IV, some fifty years before the Amarna Age, as has long ago been pointed out by various scholars[2]. These currents show a breaking up and a disintegration of the classical, traditional phase in Egyptian art and become more marked in the reign of Amenophis III[3].

The definitive breaking through of these tendencies comes with Amenophis IV, when a new art develops, yet an art which cannot be said to be a direct development or an effect of the earlier disintegration. The adoption of a new art is intimately connected with the religious

[1] Cf. W. Wolf, Vorläufer der Reformation Echnatons, ZÄS 59, 1924, pp. 109 ff.; M. & J. Doresse, Le culte d'Aton sous la XVIIIe dynastie avant le schisme amarnien, Journal Asiatique 233, 1941–42, pp. 18 ff.

[2] E.g. W. Spiegelberg, Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst bis zum Hellenismus, Der Alte Orient, 1. Ergänzungsband, Leipzig 1903, p. 69; F. W. von Bissing, Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur, Textband, München 1914, text to pl. 72, 82 & 83; N. de G. Davies, Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part II, December 1923, pp. 40 ff; idem, Akhenaten at Thebes, JEA 9, 1923, pp. 132 ff; F. Balodis, Echnatons Kunstreform, Filologu biedrības raksti II, Riga (1924), p. 76; M. Wegner, Stilentwickelung der thebanischen Beamtengräber, MDAIK IV, 1933, p. 160; J. Wilson, The culture of Ancient Egypt (The burden of Egypt), Chicago 1958, p. 214.

[3] Cf. H. Schäfer, Amarna in Religion und Kunst, 7. Sendschrift d. Dt. Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin 1931, p. 43; J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Paris 1958, pp. 331 ff; W. Wolf, Die Kunst Ägyptens, Stuttgart 1957, pp. 536 ff.

reformation. The old art represented a tradition —that of the old gods and their cult—foreign to the new ideals, and there was a desire to break with it. Art in the reign of Akhenaten, the name taken by Amenophis IV in connection with his reforms, turns away from the idealism which had previously been almost paramount, notably in the religious and royal representations, that is to say in nearly all fashion-setting art[4].

For all the innovations in religion and art Akhenaten himself, more or less dependent on the circle that had gathered round him, was the deliverer and the dominating figure. His own interest was probably personal and one may assume, as is customary, that he himself gave the incentives and directives to the working artists[5]. One cannot sufficiently stress what such initiative can have meant for the special character of the Amarna art.

As to locality, the new art was chiefly restricted to the king's immediate environment. Its first monuments were from the earliest years of his reign at Thebes, but it was later concentrated to the new capital which he founded at Amarna[6]. There it was the royal family and the small circle around it who were the chief art patrons. It is notable that the monuments from Amarna are almost totally confined to representations of royal persons, especially in the case of sculpture in the round, the kind of representations which in the reign of Amenophis III, like the tomb painting somewhat earlier, had been affected by disintegrating tendencies[7]. Private art is rare, particularly as regards sculpture in the round. The tombs of nobles display the typical art of Amarna in abundance, although several elements in their execution are still linked with old and purely Theban features[8] of style, but the wall decorations are mostly concerned with figures of the royal family.

The art of Amarna does not break completely with the tradition of Egyptian art. It is, however, no natural development of different currents in art, but a conscious accentuation of certain tendencies of that time, a stressing of certain components that would serve a new programme of art. The fundamental conventions remain unchanged however, the old fundamental ideas being merely altered a trifle. It is above all the style of the works of art that is changed. It becomes expressive, exaggerated, *outré*; the idealism and the harmony disappear. The iconographical schemes are changed, because now new values underlie them, which were formerly unacceptable. The most violent departures from the old stylistic ideals may be observed in the earliest of Akhenaten's monuments, those at Thebes. With the move to Amarna and with the death of Amenophis III, the characteristic, exaggerated style is toned down and becomes milder and gentler; its sensuality is accentuated. A new idealism is created in art[9].

The direct origins of the Amarna art, its background and prehistory, as well as the origins of the two different stylistic phases which it contained, have in fact only been dealt with by scholars in general terms. Some aspects of this problem will now be considered.

[4] Cf. E. MEYER, Geschichte d. Altertums II:1[2]. Stuttgart & Berlin 1928, p. 386.

[5] An often quoted phrase illustrating the king's interest is one of the titles of the sculptor Bek: "he whom His Majesty himself taught". Text in F. W. VON BISSING, Denkmäler zur Geschichte der Kunst Amenophis IV, Sitzungsber. d. Königl. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil. philolog. und hist. Klasse 1914:3, München 1914, p. 6.

[6] An urgent need is a closely detailed study of the topographical distribution of the characteristic monuments of the time of Akenaten. There is e.g. the Medamoud question, see R. COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, Les reliefs d'Amenophis IV Akhenaton, FIFAO XIII, Le Caire 1936. Further, a full publication of e.g. the Sesebi excavations would be of great help, for finds see B. PORTER & R. MOSS, Topographical bibliography VII, Oxford 1951, pp. 173 f.

[7] VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 331.

[8] Perhaps too much stressed in BISSING, Denkmäler zur Geschichte der Kunst etc., p. 15. The internal development within the tomb decoration of Amarna shows, side by side with the newly introduced stylistic elements, an association with the disintegrating tendencies that set in during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III, and thus a gradual liberation from the Theban refined style.

[9] Cf. J. CAPART's wording in his article on Egyptian art in The Legacy of Egypt, Oxford 1942, p. 105.

SPIEGELBERG suggested in his history of Egyptian art published in 1903, that Akhenaten introduced and adopted the vulgar art, a "Volksstil" in place of the "Hofstil"[10]. This, according to SPIEGELBERG, is a special style that had always existed and was used for representations of popular scenes as distinct from representations of gods and kings[11].

In his synthesis of the culture and history of the Amarna Age, primarily based on the results of the British excavations, PENDLEBURY puts forward a hypothesis about the background of the Amarna style[12]. He puts the fall of Crete and Knossos circa 1400 B.C. in immediate relation to the art of Amarna. Artists from Crete left their island and sought refuge in Egypt. These artists, in the opinion of PENDLEBURY, took part in the creation of the Amarna art. However, he does not point to any concrete material for his hypothesis.

Many scholars have, like PENDLEBURY, in connection with the art of that time, named Crete as a vital factor in the entire or partial development of the art of Amarna, especially referring to the mural paintings of the palaces[13]. It is easy to try to elucidate the background of the Amarna art by reference to the Aegean culture, particularly in Crete. This island was indeed one of the most important maritime powers in the Mediterranean having communications with both Egypt and other countries, primarily various trading centres in the eastern Mediterranean. The communications with Egypt were particularly evident during the 18th dynasty, as is clearly seen not least from concrete finds both in Egypt and Crete, although these communications are hardly likely to have been direct to any great extent; the route from the Aegean world to Egypt went mainly via the Syrian coast[14]. Reciprocal communication—direct or indirect—declined after the sack of Knossos and thus, at the time of Akhenaten, cannot have been a culture-promoting factor[15]. The suggested influence on art from Crete to Amarna applies chiefly to painting. Several motifs in this are said to be borrowed from Crete[16]. In the case of sculpture there is no material for comparison, as large sculpture is entirely lacking in the Minoan culture.

The earliest style, almost bordering on caricature, which appears on the first monuments at Thebes, has been partially explained by ALDRED in his drawing attention to the fact that when these monuments were executed Akhenaten had only young, untrained artists at his disposal, since the older and skilled ones were engaged upon the monuments of Amenophis III[17]; Akhenaten was, as suggested by many scholars (see note 30), at the beginning joint regent with his father. The break with tradition, the new ideas inspired by Akhenaten, the less skilled artists and the lack of direct prototypes for the new

[10] SPIEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 63.

[11] Idem, op. cit., pp. 22 ff.

[12] J. PENDLEBURY, Tell el-Amarna, London 1935, pp. 124 ff.

[13] SCHÄFER, op. cit., pp. 47 f; G. STEINDORFF, Die Kunst der Ägypter, Leipzig 1928, pp. 77 & 87; F. W. VON BISSING, Der Fussboden aus dem Palaste des Königs Amenophis IV zu el Hawata, München 1941, pp. 33 ff; W. C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt II, Cambridge Mass. 1959, p. 290; B. DE RACHEWILTZ, Kunst der Pharaonen (Incontro con l'arte egiziana), Zürich & Stuttgart 1959, p. 99.

[14] Cf. H. R. H. HALL, Egypt and the external world in the time of Akhenaten, JEA 7, 1921, pp. 39 ff; for finds see i.a. J. PENDLEBURY, Aegyptiaca, a catalogue of Egyptian objects in the Aegean area, Cambridge 1930; valuable is the thorough examination in A. FURUMARK, The settlement at Ialysos and Aegean history c. 1550—1400 B.C., Opuscula Archaeologica VI = Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae XV, Lund 1950; direct communications with Crete cannot be excluded, cf. J. VERCOUTTER, L'Egypte et le monde égéen préhellénique, Le Caire 1956, pp. 417 ff.

[15] The communications were irregular and infrequent, cf. HALL, op. cit.: Amarna's foreign contacts chiefly concerned "mainlanders of Mycenae, Rhodians of Ialysos and Cyprians of Enkomi", p. 50. Further F. MATZ, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 6:2, Handbuch der Archäologie II, München 1954, p. 271.

[16] E.g. the "flying gallop" motif and various details in the ornamentation; fairly general recourse to nature motifs and a predilection for representations of animals and plants, cf. H. FRANKFORT, The mural painting of El-'Amarneh, London 1929; D. FIMMEN, Kretisch-mykenische Kultur, Leipzig & Berlin 1921, pp. 197 ff.

[17] C. ALDRED, New Kingdom Art in ancient Egypt[2], London 1961, p. 25. Cf. also G. BENEDITE, A propos d'un buste égyptien, Mon. Fond. Piot XIII, 1906, pp. 6 ff.

art, were the causes of the exaggerations of the first period, according to ALDRED. Upon the death of Amenophis III, his artists entered the service of the new king; at the same time the exaggeration is reduced, but also the emphatic expressiveness of the art; the credit for this must lie with the older artists trained with other stylistic ideals, when they had been set to work on the new art programme.

The art of Amarna cannot be made clear in a few words; it was many-sided and made up of many different components. The views put forward here give some of the background, but are partially without relevance. SPIEGELBERG's distinction of "Hofstil" versus "Volksstil" is irrelevant, as in fact we cannot speak of such a pronounced stylistic contrast within Egyptian art[18]. It is not entirely correct when he distinguishes between two styles, because in actual fact it is not a question of a difference in form but of a difference in the content of the representations, originally arising out of, and conditioned by, appraisal of the objects represented and the completely different activities of these objects.

Provincial peculiarities, works of art of lower artistic quality, can mislead the modern judge into using, on that account, the term popular art (which is not suitable, because popular art need in no way be inferior technically); the aims and aspirations, however, are here the same as in the official art surrounding the king and his court. The shaping and aim of art in Egypt were in the highest degree dependent upon the wishes of the consumer, usually conservative and fettered by tradition. But one must take into account the existence of a freer, popular art, which however only seldom found concrete expression and which largely remained latent. This freer art can be seen in the many picture ostraca commonly occurring during the New Kingdom in the quarters of workmen and artists. These ostraca often represent an art unbound by stylistic and iconographical dogmas, an art which is healthy and alive. Its vulgarity can seldom be mistaken[19]. This art had no direct consumers. The picture ostraca had various purposes; some were undoubtedly occasional pieces, which were perhaps kept for a time by the maker or were perhaps thrown away when finished; therefore the artist's own imagination and desire could have free play. However, it does not go beyond the fundamental conventions of Egyptian art. But it is of course not such an independent art as SPIEGELBERG has in mind when speaking of a "Volksstil". These ostraca point to the existence of a latent, popular art, which is timeless, but that is not to say that the particular art represented in most of the known ostraca (Ramesside) would be exactly the same if the main part of them stemmed from before the time of Akhenaten. At all events it must here be submitted that a popular art of the kind sometimes displayed by these picture ostraca must have greatly contributed to the emergence of the Amarna style. Here this spontaneous art had a chance to break through.

As regards the Minoan and to some extent the Mycenaean influence in the Amarna art, hypotheses about a direct influence must be rejected, as there are no evident Aegean elements in this art[20]. The separate motifs and details to

[18] Cf. H. SCHÄFER, Von ägyptischer Kunst[3], Leipzig 1930, p. 62.

[19] Many ostraca show the existence of fables, a type of literature usually belonging to the masses of the people. In written form these were not recorded in Egypt until the Late Period. The interpretation of picture ostraca with fable motifs is, however, not quite clear, cf. E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, Ägyptische Tiermärchen, ZÄS 80, 1955, pp. 12 ff and W. HELCK, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Bd 5, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 543. Although most of the known picture ostraca are Ramesside, it should not be irrelevant to cite these here as examples of the existence of a latent folk art that could only emerge sporadically.

[20] Cf. BALODIS, op. cit., p. 76; A. SCHARFF, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 6:1, Handbuch der Archäologie I, München 1939, p. 580; WEGNER, op. cit., p. 158; WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, p. 486. That there were probably people from the Aegean world who had settled in Egypt and indeed at Amarna (cf. PENDLEBURY, op. cit. pp. 120 ff.) need not imply a direct Aegean influence on Egyptian art. Nor need trade contacts have exerted an influence on a strong, independent art. Several of the alleged Aegean



which attention has been drawn (cf. note 16), are no innovations in this period, having successively appeared in Egypt during the 18th dynasty; some may possibly be borrowed from abroad, although this is very controversial (cf. note 22). The main branch of art which was alleged to show resemblances and possible points of affinity between Aegean and Egyptian during the Amarna Age, is painting. The Minoan painting has an intimate connection with the Egyptian, but the contributing party was Egypt, which with its influence made an impress on the origins of the Minoan painting and to some extent on its iconography, but not on its subsequent independent development[21]. Despite the fact that for various reasons one must refuse to admit a direct influence of the Cretan mural paintings upon those of Amarna (*inter alia* on account of the difference in time; the sack of Knossos was circa 1410 B.C., while the foundation of Amarna took place some 40–50 years later; also we would mention that the increasing monumentalization in the late Minoan painting is not reflected in Amarna), one must nevertheless admit a certain Aegean influence on the art of the 18th dynasty, which however by no means was direct or furnished Egyptian art with any new elements[22]. Indirectly Aegean art, however, must have contributed somewhat to the contemporaneous disintegrating tendencies in art; it became, from the very fact of the Egyptians' obtaining knowledge of its existence, a component in the otherwise internal development of art in Egypt during the 18th dynasty, when a greater freedom than before and a broadened outlook became apparent. To think that Egypt was in complete cultural isolation during the New Kingdom is impossible, not least in view of the many foreign immigrants, chiefly from Western Asia.

Instead of suggesting influences from abroad one should look for the origins of the art of the Amarna Age inside Egypt. WEGNER took this line when he desired to show that the painting in the reign of Akhenaten is a natural consequence of the artistic development within Egypt, particularly at Thebes[23]. The Amarna art, in his opinion, is the direct continuation of the stylistic changes occurring during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III: "Mit der unerschütterlichen Stetigkeit natürlichen Wachstums und ohne einschneidenden Bruch ist die Kunst Echnatons in die Spätzeit der 18. Dynastie eingefügt"[24]. WEGNER refers to different details within the art of Amarna, often details established earlier during the 18th dynasty, and thus tries to show that the Amarna art in no way breaks with the art of the preceding period. But he does not compare the Amarna art *in toto* with the preceding art. Such a comparison is however necessary, as it is not the separate details that in this case may be decisive, but the character of the art as a whole. WEGNER's point of view is correct to the extent that the artistic development during the 18th dynasty leads towards Amarna and forms the basis of the art during that period, but incorrect when he refuses to admit the addition of new elements during Akhenaten's reign and exclusively points to the natural development[25].

elements in Egyptian painting during the 18th dynasty are foreign and new to Egyptian art only in the matter of content, not of form; there is no foreign stylistic influence.

[21] F. MATZ, Minoan civilization: Maturity and zenith, Cambridge Ancient History vol. II, Cambridge 1962, p. 33; R. W. HUTCHINSON, Prehistoric Crete, Pelican Books 1962, p. 131. See however also F. MATZ in Handbuch der Archäologie II, p. 250: "Die ägyptischen Anregungen können sich nur auf das Allgemeinste beschränkt haben." It would be interesting to examine in greater detail these Egyptian impulses in Minoan painting. No general survey exists.

[22] Cf. HALL, op. cit., p. 51; idem, The relations of Aegean with Egyptian art, JEA 1, 1914, pp. 201 ff; WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, pp. 486 ff. Asiatic influences (mainly Syrian), apart from certain motifs (cf. FURUMARK, op. cit., pp. 219 ff.), are not evident, cf. HELCK, op. cit., pp. 542 f. Mention must be made parenthetically of P. GILBERT, Influences orientales sur l'art d'Amarna, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves XV, Bruxelles 1960, pp. 5 ff. This work is mainly concerned with the fundamental principles of art, but does not arrive at any conclusions that need be given here.

[23] WEGNER, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.

[24] Idem, op. cit., p. 159.

[25] Cf. WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, p. 536.

Basic to the Amarna art must be the tendency to disintegration which was found in the earlier art and which several scholars have noted, especially in the tomb painting[26], but also in the sculpture[27]. As a result of Akhenaten's initiative[28], this current is emphasized and developed; supported by other components that are consciously brought forward it is accentuated for the purpose of creating a new art fitting to the new ideals. One of these components is most probably a popular art that had previously found no opportunity for expression, especially not in monumental art; it is a latent art, not differing however in principle from the fundamental conventions of the earlier art; also this popular art must have had prototypes, these being among what had previously been created. An art of this kind could readily find an echo at this juncture, when there was a need for religion to be represented by an art differing from the old traditional one which was firmly linked to the old religion. In addition, it must be observed that the consumers, apart from those belonging to the royal family, were mainly people who, from all appearances, are to be regarded as parvenus; their families were not previously known in the court circles. As *novi homines* these men gained a high social position under Akhenaten[29]. The adoption of popular, even vulgar elements at this time, is also indicative of the language. It is from the outset of Akhenaten's reign that the language of classical literature, evolved during the Middle Kingdom, is superseded by the popular, spoken tongue for literary purposes.

The merging of the current art and its disintegrating tendencies with a more original and direct popular art is the basis of Akhenaten's art. Through personal initiatives and presumably through the individual freedom of the artists within the limits of the purchasers' wishes, the art went on developing and soon became mannered in the brief period during which this special art flourished. The change-over and transition to the gentler and more idealistic style after Amenophis III's death is partly due to the influence, as ALDRED assumes, of the older artists handing down the ancient traditions[30]. It is certainly also dependent in part on the varying skill of the artists[31]. Their works develop and a mannerism is evolved. But one must also look to the art consumers for the cause. Their demands and tastes may have changed and become stabilized; one question is to what extent was there still dependence on the old art. How consistently could one break with tradition? Partly it is also a social question. These *novi homines* at Amarna, what was their attitude to the old—in art, culture, religion, etc.,—when they had become great men in the state?

The soil in which the new ideas had germinated and taken concrete shape had in many cases been loosened by influences from abroad. Egypt during the 18th dynasty became the centre of the then known world and she widened by means of warlike and peaceable expeditions her horizon and escaped from the earlier restraints of cultural isolation. That the country was extremely receptive of foreign impulses is clearly shown by many phenomena in the progressive development through which the country was passing at that time. These foreign impulses involve in the case of art, if not direct influences and prototypes, yet a broadened outlook, an internationalization, a greater freedom from tradition in general and a new sense of the value of the purely Egyptian tradition and heritage.

[26] Cf. above notes 2 & 3.

[27] Cf. above note 7.

[28] This, as already noted, is closely connected with the development of his religious ideas.

[29] Cf. E. OTTO, Ägypten[2], Stuttgart 1959, p. 163; H. KEES, Ancient Egypt, London 1961, pp. 301 f.

[30] If there was no joint rulership of Amenophis III and Akhenaten, then this argument is of a little value. The most recent research adopts a negative attitude to a joint reign, cf. E. HORNUNG, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Bd 11, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 71 ff; E. F. CAMPBELL, The chronology of the Amarna letters, Baltimore 1964, p. 140.

[31] Cf. FRANKFORT, op. cit., p. 29; ALDRED, op. cit., p. 25.

The art of Amarna is thus a synthesis of several different phenomena, a synthesis consciously made to meet a need. The changes in the art of this time are ultimately, however, in character, a transformation of the innermost essence of the cultural life, a change in the spirit of the cultural life.

To the earliest representations of Akhenaten belong the famous monumental statues found at Thebes. They are characterized by violence in expression, by exaggeration in style. The king's appearance seems pathological and the question of his physical and even mental condition has been much discussed[32]. From the art-historical point of view this discussion is of secondary importance; the problem is not so much what the king looked like in reality, but rather in the various ways in which he was represented in the monuments.

From Amarna we have most of the representations of the king. A number of more or less fragmentary works sculptured in the round or in the form of reliefs can be reliably identified as depicting him. These representations are mostly small, life-size or less. There are several statuettes, but many of the works are portrait heads which had belonged to, or been intended for, statuettes; in addition, there are portrait heads that had belonged to reliefs as well as several that must be looked upon as separate trial pieces. The materials are the usual ones: limestone, alabaster, quartz, sandstone and to a lesser degree granite[33].

Identification of the portrait sculpture at Amarna is difficult. In most cases there are no inscriptions on the works sculptured in the round to establish their identities, but it has nevertheless been possible to distinguish nearly all the members of the royal family. In particular, the last stylistic phase, the mature and idealistic one, presents several difficulties, as by then we have some additional historical persons who are available for identification, for instance Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun. The difficulties are increased also by the family features, a true resemblance between the persons. Besides this, in the case of the royal image an idealized head was created[34], which set the fashion and more or less strongly influenced the representations of persons other than the king.

The representations of Akhenaten are generally characterized by a long, narrow face, a prominent, hanging chin and a protruding mouth; the nose is long, sometimes pointed[35]. These distinctive features vary; the only constant feature however, according to SCHÄFER, is the long, hanging chin[36].

A grouping of the sculptures in the round of Akhenaten has been made by VANDIER, who divides his sculptures from Amarna into four groups[37]. In the first the old conventionalism and idealism partly remain[38]. The type is earlier in style than Akhenaten's Theban sculptures. The second has clear relations to the king's Theban sculptures[39]. The third group is distinguished by a round, soft style[40]. The fourth comprises the

[32] Cf. P. GHALIOUNGUI, A medical study of Akhenaten, ASAE 47, 1947, pp. 29 ff; A. T. SANDISON, The tomb of Akhenaten-Appendix, JEA 47, 1961, pp. 60 ff. See also W. WESTENDORF, Amenophis IV in Urgottgestalt, Pantheon XXI:V, München 1963.

[33] Besides there is an isolated group of portrait heads of different persons in plaster, among which are alleged representations of Akhenaten. These form a special category, whose genesis will not be discussed here, cf. G. ROEDER, Lebensgrosse Tonmodelle aus einer altägyptischen Bildhauerwerkstatt, Jahrbücher d. preuss. Kunstsammlungen, Bd 62, Berlin 1941, pp. 145 ff.

[34] SCHARFF, op. cit., p. 585.

[35] In the present article no account is given of the king's body, as our purpose is the publication of two portraits.

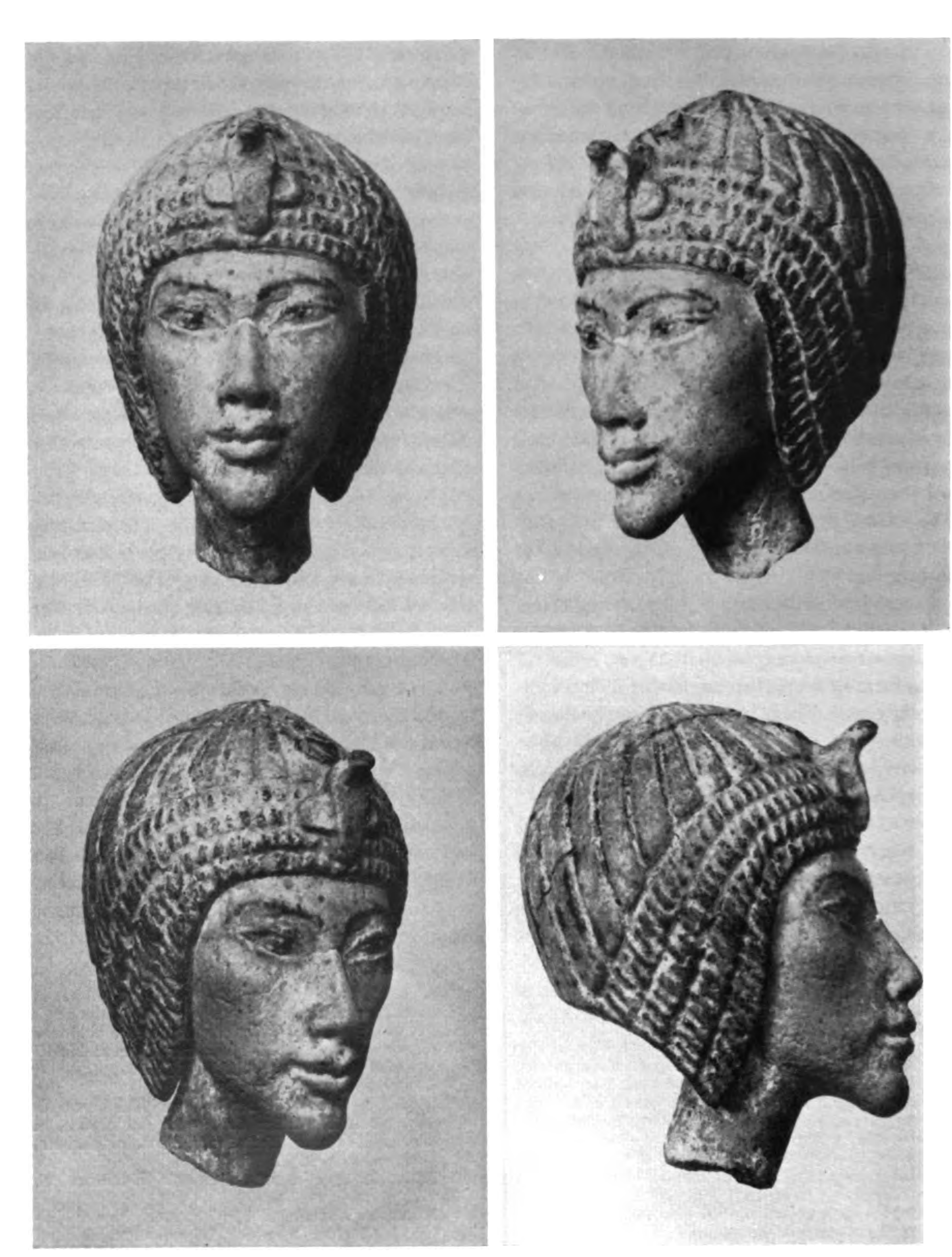
[36] H. SCHÄFER, Altes und Neues zur Kunst und Religion von Tell el-Amarna, ZÄS 55, 1918, p. 9.

[37] VANDIER, Manuel III, pp. 338 f.

[38] Cf. Cairo 43580=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album de planches, pl. CX:1; Cairo 67921=R. ENGELBACH, A limestone head of king Akhenaten in the Cairo Museum, ASAE 38, 1938, pp. 95 ff.

[39] Berlin 21835=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXI:3.

[40] Brooklyn Museum 29.34=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CX:4; Louvre E 15593=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXI:1; Berlin 21836=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CX:3.



Figs. 1—4. Smenkhkare. Faience head in the collection of Mr. Henry Nilsson, Stockholm.

works that are most "spiritualized", which, in the opinion of VANDIER, corresponded best to the king's ideal. The most outstanding work in this group is the famous bust of Akhenaten in the Louvre[41].

This grouping is correct in the main[42]. But it must be pointed out that the boundary lines of the different groups are rather vague. The resemblances are great; the first and third groups, in particular, are very much alike. The same grouping does not apply to the reliefs. No survey of these has yet been made, but it is possible to say that the king's portraits in the reliefs do not display the same refined and spiritualized style that is typical of much of the Amarna sculpture. The relief portraits, for instance in the tombs of nobles, are strongly linked with the Theban sculpture of Akhenaten of the first years of his reign.

To the problem of identification can now be brought an additional important criterion. The significant features for identifying the representations of the king have been reduced solely to the long, hanging chin[43]. But the characteristic mouth is also typical and must be emphasized. Not only the accentuated, protruding mouth but also the more or less downturned corners of the mouth are characteristic of the representations of Akhenaten[44], [45]. This distinctive mouth is very frequent in his case and even occurs on the shawabti figures[46]. One can clearly distinguish the portraits of the king with this mouth, and so together with the long, hanging chin can get quite a reliable identification. This not altogether common mouth, which is certainly a true copy of the king's physiognomy, can be definitely established too in the case of his mother, Queen Tiye[47]. It is obviously a family feature.

Thus we may regard as the basic criteria for identifying the king's portrait, on the one hand the long, hanging chin and on the other hand the typical mouth with the downturned corners.

In a Swedish private collection of Egyptian antiquities, owned by Director HENRY NILSSON of Stockholm, there is a small portrait head which because of its style must undoubtedly be assigned to the Amarna Age (Figs. 1—4). Its provenience is also said to be el-Amarna[48].

The head, which may have belonged to a statuette, is worked in faience of a bluish green turquoise colour. The height is 7 cm. The face seen frontally narrows sharply and has a pointed, prominent chin. The eyes are almond-shaped and slanting. The eyebrows are marked with lines of darker colour. The pupils of the eyes are also in the same dark shade. The nose widens at the base; the nostrils are dilated. The mouth is clearly marked and protruding. The corners of the mouth, which are slightly upturned, are emphasized by a downward running line. Seen in profile the nose does not make a straight line with the forehead; there is a slight depression in the line at the root of the nose, where the straight line is broken. The chin is not abnormally long. The lower line is very sharply swung to the neck.

A large headdress covers the head. In type it

[41] Louvre E 11076=VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXI:4 & 6. The plaster masks of the king come close to this head, cf. VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 339.

[42] For other groupings, see L. BORCHARDT, Aus der Arbeit an den Funden von Tell el-Amarna, Mitt. d. Dt. Orient-Gesellschaft Nr. 57, 1917. Review of this SCHÄFER, op. cit., ZÄS 55, 1918, pp. 6 ff. See also below note 77.

[43] See above note 36.

[44] SCHÄFER has in one way stressed the mouth in the art of the Amarna Age: "Der Amarnakunst ist neben den Augen vor allem der Mund der Sitz ihrer Seelenkündung", Von ägyptischer Kunst[3], p. 275.

[45] Here it is not necessary to give all the examples of this. For a comparison between Akhenaten's mouth and another mouth (in this case Nefertiti's), see, for instance, Brooklyn Museum 16.48=J. CAPART, Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien I, Paris 1927, pl. 49. Naturally there are exceptions as regards the mouth. There are portraits of Akhenaten without this characteristic mouth and there are portraits of other persons with the same protruding mouth. In the latter case it is of course reasonable to interpret the appearance of Akhenaten's mouth on other persons as an influence from the royal portrait, cf. note 34.

[46] See e.g. HAYES, Scepter II, fig. 178. Cf. below note 78.

[47] Cf. the head Cairo 38257 which is reliably identified by means of the inscription, and also the famous Berlin head 21834, both in VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CVII.

[48] The head is said to have been found in a well at el-Amarna. Here I should like to express my gratitude to Director H. NILSSON for his kind permission to let me publish the head.

has several parallels in the Amarna Age. The lines radiating down from the top of the headdress and the rows of curls cut in steps are in the same dark, bluish black colour as the eyebrows and pupils. A clearly modelled uraeus is in the middle of the front of the headdress; its tail twists towards the centre of the headdress on the top of the crown. The head is intact apart from a few slight cracks.

It is tempting at once to identify the head as Akhenaten[49]. Yet many of the individual details differ from his iconography. Although the total effect may give the impression of Akhenaten, the identification has still to be tested.

The two principal criteria, the long chin and the characteristic mouth, cannot be seen. The chin, however, certainly resembles that of Akhenaten in some of his representations. The forehead-nose line is not straight, as is often the case in many portraits of Akhenaten[50]. Representations of Akhenaten sculptured in the round with a similar headdress are entirely unknown[51]. Only on one relief in Mery-re's tomb at Amarna is he wearing this headdress[52] as well as on one relief from Karnak[53]. If we observe the position of the eyes, we do not find a similarly oblique set of the eyes in portraits of Akhenaten[54].

There is much to support the view that the Nilsson head belongs to a late date of the Amarna period. What is decisive here is the headdress, on the one hand. Except on the representations just mentioned, no such type of headdress is known on Akhenaten, although it is known on other male royal heads which are stylistically later than Akhenaten[55]. On the other hand, the eyes are also decisive. The slanting position of the eyes is inappropriate for Akhenaten, but it does occur after his time. The best example is the famous glass head in the Louvre, which is placed in Tutankhamun's period[56] (Fig. 5). The sensitive and well accentuated mouth is not exclusive to representations from Akhenaten's time. If we look at portraits made in imitation of him and of his iconography, we find that a protruding, full mouth characterizes royal representations for quite a while to come[57]. On the Nilsson head, however, we do

[49] The head has been held to represent Akhenaten. It was on view in Stockholm in 1961 in connection with the exhibition "5000 år egyptisk konst", cf. Nationalmusei utställningskatalog nr 265, Stockholm 1961, p. 92.

[50] Cf., for instance, the Nilsson head with a close parallel in relief representing Akhenaten wearing the same headdress (PILLET, see below note 53) where this line is quite straight.

[51] But for one unpublished head in the Cairo Museum belonging to the group of the Akhenaten shawabtis, nr. 2229 (Room 12, case U). This head is of uncertain provenience but the identification is fairly clear. The royal head J 66642 (Amarna Room, case D) also unpublished and also of unknown provenience, should perhaps be taken into account here. It has not been possible for me to study the head in detail.

[52] N. DE G. DAVIES, The rock tombs of El Amarna I, London 1903, pl. XXX.

[53] M. PILLET, Quelques bas-reliefs inédits d'Amenhotep IV- Akhenaton à Karnak, Revue de l'Egypte ancienne 2, Paris 1929, pl. IV.

[54] The sculpture in the round does not have it, although the reliefs often show a slanting eye. The slanting eyes occur on the likenesses of Akhenaten from Thebes, but they are of a rather special type, cf. WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, pp. 450 ff.

[55] Cf. Amarna 31.581 = J. PENDLEBURY, The city of Akhenaten III:2, London 1951, pl. LXXIV:7 (Cf. JEA 18, 1932, pl. XIX:2 and p. 148, "perhaps Smenkhkere – certainly not Akhenaten"); G. ROEDER, Thronfolger und König Smench-ka-Rê, ZÄS 83, 1958, pp. 54 f; further a plausible royal head, see T. E. PEET-C. L. WOOLLEY, The city of Akhenaten I, London 1923, pl. XXXV:2 (cf. JEA 7, 1921, pl. XXIX:4). In particular this headdress is worn by Tutankhamun in several representations on objects in his tomb. From the time immediately after Akhenaten or contemporary with the last year of his reign are also the funerary objects, the sarcophagus and canopic jars from the famous tomb 55 at Thebes, which also display this headdress. By ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 67 ff. these have been attributed to Smenkhkare, although C. ALDRED in Hair styles and history, Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art XV, pp. 141 ff, has shown that the canopic jars were made for Meritaton and thus cannot portray Smenkhkare (cf. ALDRED, The tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes, JEA 47, 1961, pp. 43 ff.). For the sarcophagus cf. H. W. FAIRMAN, Once again the so-called coffin of Akhenaten, JEA 47, 1961, p. 39, the sarcophagus was made for Meritaton. Although these funerary objects were made for the queen of Smenkhkare we must assume that they reflect the style of the royal representations, the idealized representations of the king. At Amarna the actual headdress is worn, as ALDRED has pointed out, especially by Nefertiti and the princesses. Before Amarna it occurs too, although not often, cf. for instance Louvre E 11107 = VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CVII:6 in a representation in the old idealistic style of Amenophis III.

[56] Louvre E 11658 = VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXVI:1 & 2.

[57] So with the glass head in the Louvre (see note 56). Further e.g. Boston 11.1533 = VANDIER, Manuel III-Album, pl. CXVII:2 (Tutankhamun).



not find the downturned corners of the mouth typical of Akhenaten.

Thus there are good reasons for excluding Akhenaten as a possible identification of the small portrait head. This is specially evident if a comparison is made between this head seen in profile and the relief of Akhenaten at Karnak, where he is wearing the same headdress (cf. note 53). We must then decide on one of Akhenaten's nearest successors, and this raises a series of problems.

Smenkhkare[58], towards the end of the Amarna Age, became co-regent with Akhenaten. This man, whose parentage is not clear, had, among other things, by his marriage to Meritaton, one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, legitimated himself as successor to the throne. The end of the declining Amarna Age and the history of the subsequent period is obscure. After Smenkhkare had reigned for about three years, as co-regent before Akhenaten's death (about which no details are known to us) and as sole regent after it, he was succeeded by Tutankhaten, yet another son-in-law of Akhenaten, who left Amarna and moved to Thebes. In his name the religious restoration was effected, the cult of Amun being re-instituted; when this happened he took the name of Tutankhamun. He died, however, after a few short years as pharaoh and was followed by the influential key figure of the Amarna period Ay, who had probably been the real power behind the throne during Tutankhamun's reign. He, too, ruled only for a short time and after him came Haremhab, under whom Amarna was destroyed.

No reliably identified portraits of Smenkhkare are extant; however, a number have been ascribed to him. Those concerned are such royal portraits as have been discovered at Amarna and cannot depict either Akhenaten or Tutankhaten[59]. These representations have been put to-

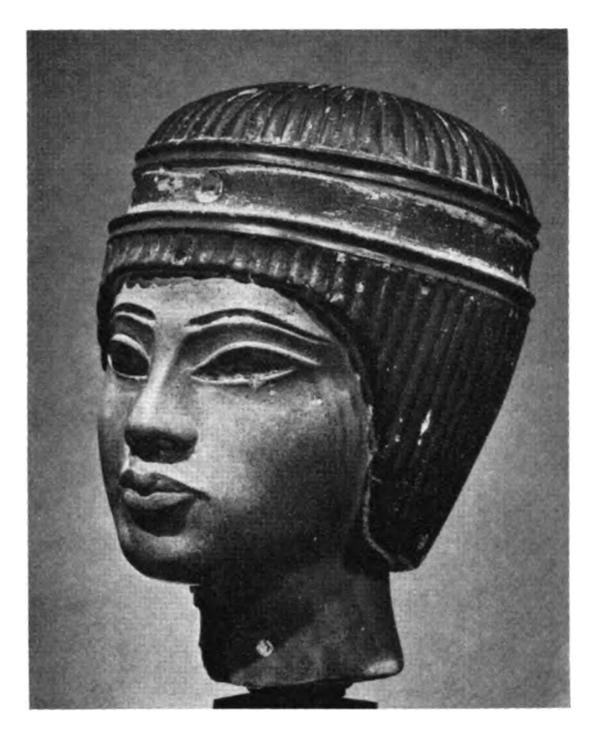


Fig. 5. Unidentified head (Louvre E 11658).

Fig. 6. Smenkhkare. Artist's trial piece (The British Museum / Amarna 31.581).



[58] A new study of Smenkhkare and representations of him, see the above-mentioned work by ROEDER, above note 55.

[59] Cf. VANDIER, Manuel III, pp. 344 f.

gether by ROEDER in a work published in 1958 (see note 55). For many of the portraits cited by him the identification is extremely uncertain and in some cases incorrect[60]. But here a number of relatively certain ascriptions will be put together. It will then be seen that they may be divided into two different groups, two stylistic phases. As regards Akhenaten, his representations could be divided into four groups. Those of Smenkhkare can be dealt with in the same manner. In his portraits we can distinguish two stylistic phases, which need not necessarily have succeeded each other but can have been contemporaneous with each other. But it has to be stressed that this stylistic grouping *must be provisional* in character, as the identification of these representations is in several cases very uncertain.

[60] E.g. ROEDER, op. cit., p. 53, D:III:1, cf. ALDRED, The end of the el-Amarna period, JEA 43, 1957, p. 37, note 5; further, the funerary objects from tomb 55 at Thebes, cf. above note 55. The head Metropolitan Museum CAPART, Documents I, pl. 31 may more reasonably be called Akhenaten, as was earlier done, for instance by HAYES, Scepter II, p. 288. In this study some uncertain and controversial sculptures and reliefs are omitted, not least the much discussed representations in Berlin and Paris, see VANDIER, Manuel III, pp. 345 ff. In the present discussion the badly damaged and extremely uncertain portraits are not included either.

To the first phase, here called Style I, may be referred representations that are more or less dependent on portraits of Akhenaten. They still display the rather exaggerated, *outré* style that characterizes Akhenaten's early portraits. They are more akin to these than to the gentle idealizing art familiar to us from the mature Amarna style, although sometimes they do not lack a touch of that later style.

To this Style I belongs Amarna 32.75[61], a plaque with portraits of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. These two on the same relief slab show that Style I existed during the time of their joint rule. Also belonging to this Style I is the abovementioned relief Amarna 31.581[62] (Fig. 6), where we find the type of headdress already referred to. Another work of art belonging here is the plaque in Berlin portraying a king and a queen (Smenkh-

[61] Now in Cairo 59294. Cf. JEA 19, 1933, p. 116; PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LIX:1 and ROEDER, op. cit., p. 49 and pl. V.
[62] See above note 55, now in the British Museum 63631.

Fig. 7. Smenkhkare. Detail from plaque (Berlin 15000).



Fig. 8. Smenkhkare (Cairo 45547).



kare and Meritaton)[63] (Fig. 7). In this group may also be included, more peripherally, a head in relief from the British excavations at Amarna, 21.488[64].

A representation which may mark the transition to Style II is a relief fragment in Berlin, showing Smenkhkare together with Meritaton[65].

What is here called Style II is characterized by an idealism which is associated more with the art current before the Amarna Age and which points in the direction of Tutankhamun's idealistic, technically perfected tomb-art. This second stylistic phase is grouped naturally round the famous quartzite head from Memphis, now in Cairo[66] (Fig. 8). Closely allied to this is Amarna 33.6[67], also a quartzite head, inseparable in style from the Memphis head[68]. Two relief carvings, intended for insertion into larger reliefs, which since PETRIE's excavations have been at University College, London[69], and a similar work in Brooklyn Museum[70], clearly belong to this stylistic phase.

As the Nilsson head cannot be identified as Akhenaten, all that remains is to try to fit it into Smenkhkare's iconographical scheme. None of the other royal persons from the Amarna period may be considered; an idea that the head could be that of a woman seems improbable. Tutankhamun's sculpture differs so much in manner from the style here at issue that it cannot be necessary to look for parallels there. His successor Ay shows a striking resemblance in his iconography as a private man in Amarna (Fig. 9) to the idealized portrait of the king (Akhenaten), the style of which in the case of Smenkhkare is represented by his Style I[71]. However, the whole Tutankhamun complex in art lies between the



Fig. 9. Ay as a private man. Detail from his tomb in Amarna (Worcester Art Museum 1949.42).

[63] Berlin 15000, P. E. NEWBERRY, Note on the sculptured slab, etc., JEA 14, 1928, p. 117; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 56.

[64] Amarna 21.488 = PEET-WOOLLEY, The city I, pl. XII:6, cf. p. 14: "head of the Akhenaten type". Also published by M. MOGENSEN, Les oeuvres d'art, etc., BIFAO 30, 1930, p. 463 and pl. IV. It is not a royal head with the uraeus, but as it is a sculptor's trial piece, which is confirmed by the representations on the verso, it is still probable that it is the type of a royal head. It is reasonable to identify it as Smenkhkare.

[65] Berlin 14511 = SCHÄFER, Amarna in Religion und Kunst, pl, 22; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 55 f.

[66] Cairo 45547 = CAPART, Documents I, pl. 30; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 62 f.

[67] Brooklyn Museum 34.6042 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LIX:6–8; ROEDER, op. cit., pp. 59 f.

[68] VANDIER, Manuel III, p. 345.

[69] UC 101 & UC 103 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. CV:4 & 8; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54.

[70] Brooklyn Museum 33.685 = PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. LVII:4; ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54. This representation and those mentioned above at University College (note 69) differ decisively in respect of the mouth from the Maru Aton relief head 1921/22, PEET-WOOLLEY, The city I, pl. XXXV:1, which is extremely doubtful as a representation of Smenkhkare, cf. ROEDER, op. cit., p. 54.

[71] Cf. the representation of Ay in his tomb at Amarna, DAVIES, The rock tombs of El Amarna VI, London 1908, pl. XXXIX. The relief slab bearing Ay's head is no longer *in situ* but barbarously hewn out (now in Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, Acc. No. 1949.42, see Archaeology vol. 16, no. 3, 1963, p. 155 and the cover photo).

Amarna representations of Ay and the portraits of him as regent, which latter show a return to the old, more particularly Theban tradition, though not without a certain spiritualization of the stereotypy. Then when Haremhab ascends the throne, art has almost entirely dissociated itself from Amarna's direct stylistic influence; Amarna has then become an obsolete phase.

The Nilsson head is clearly associated with Smenkhkare's Style I and cannot be assigned to Style II. Despite minor divergences (but not greater than those occurring within Style I) the Nilsson head is excellently in character with Style I.

On the plaque Amarna 32.75 (see note 61) we can observe the difference between Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. The forehead-nose line on Smenkhkare's head agrees with the Nilsson head, while the same line on Akhenaten is straighter. The mouth provides the main difference between the two heads on the relief slab. The Nilsson head, in both this feature and the chin, is more like the portrait of Smenkhkare than that of Akhenaten (cf. here also the Karnak relief head of Akhenaten, above note 53).

As regards the relief slab 31.581, this representation comes very close to the Akhenaten type; it is above all the mouth that resembles this type (cf. note 55). The head displays a youthful portrait, more suitable for Smenkhkare than for Akhenaten. It also has the characteristic headdress, which is more frequently worn by the kings after Akhenaten (often by Tutankhamun) than by Akhenaten himself. This representation comes close to the Nilsson head as well, although not to the same extent as the preceding example.

A good parallel is the relief displaying Smenkhkare standing together with his queen (see note 63). The same motif occurs on a casket in Tutankhamun's tomb[72], where we can clearly see the difference between Smenkhkare's Style I and the art of the next king, to which Smenkhkare's Style II forms the transition. On this Berlin relief there is, however, a portrait very similar to the Nilsson head; not only the mouth but also the rounded, slightly hanging chin agree in a striking manner (see Fig. 7).

Finally, we can make a comparison with the relief fragment Amarna 21.488 (see note 64) of uncertain identity, which is not far from the Nilsson head in style; it has moreover the same kind of headdress and a slanting eye.

Here it can only be regretted that we have no knowledge of any representations of Smenkhkare sculptured in the round, which could be fitted into Style I. The Nilsson head as a result of the above comparisons must be assigned to it and thus becomes the first known work of Smenkhkare sculptured in the round, which shows how strongly Akhenaten's portraits influenced the contemporary portraiture of the kings.

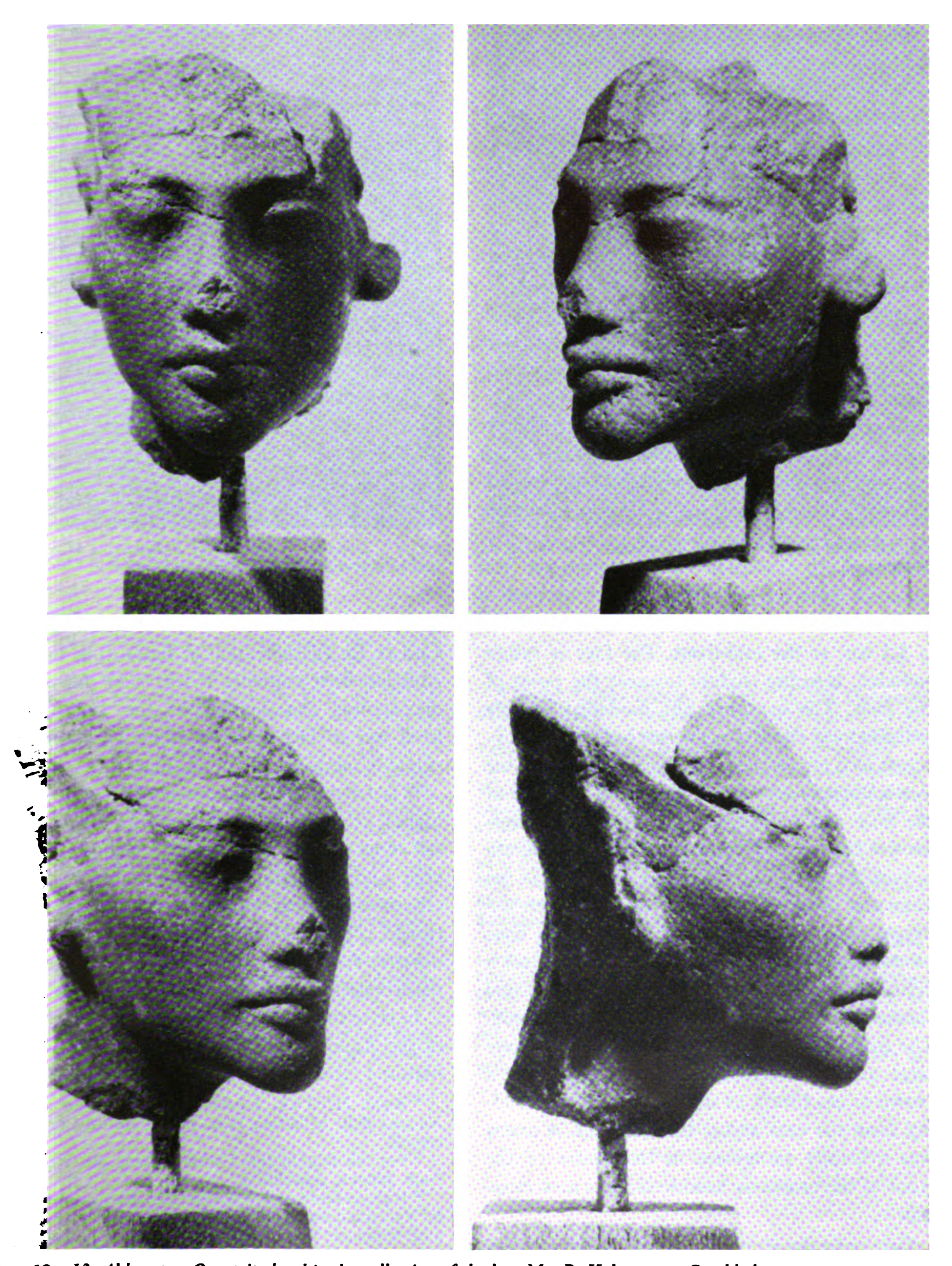
The representations of Smenkhkare were executed, as we know, during a period of about three years, in the first part of which Akhenaten was still living and ruling[73]. It is tempting to suggest that Style I corresponds with the representations of the younger king during the joint rulership, and that Style II appeared from the outset of Smenkhkare's sole rule, when the religion and art of the Amarna period were abandoned and when the art could take on a shape that was closer to the old tradition. Who took the initiative in making these changes, the new king or other influential persons, is a matter that must remain uncertain. New problems present themselves, and to discuss them would lead us far beyond the scope of this article.

Yet another portrait head from the Amarna Age is in private Swedish ownership. It is a fragmentary, rather damaged and cracked head in reddish brown sandstone, belonging to the Stockholm collection of the late artist R. Holtermann[74] (Figs. 10—13). The height of the head

[72] See Roeder, op. cit., pp. 56 f and pl. VI.

[73] The current opinion that Smenkhkare was sole ruler after Akhenaten's death is, however, controversial. See the recent discussion in Hornung, op. cit., pp. 88 ff.

[74] Holtermann collection H 172. Provenience unknown.



Figs. 10—13. Akhenaten. Quartzite head in the collection of the late Mr. R. Holtermann, Stockholm.

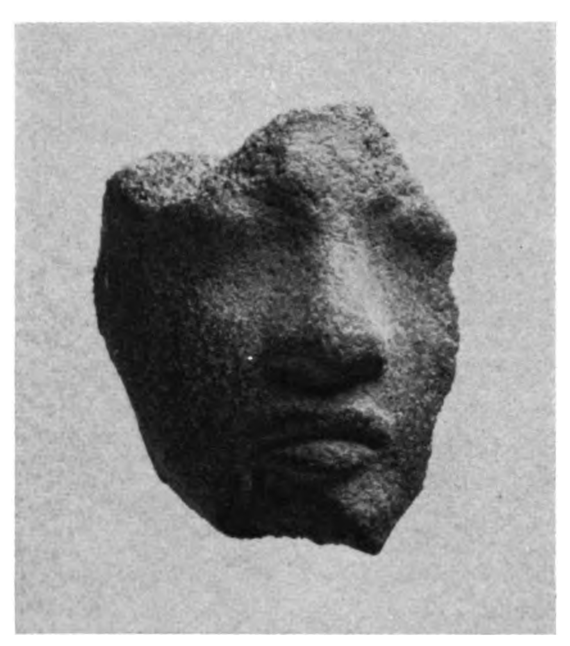


Fig. 14. Head of a shawabti of Akhenaten (The Brooklyn Museum 33.50).



Fig. 15. Head of a shawabti of Akhenaten (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, E 6845).

is 5.5 cm. at the mid-front. The face is rather rounded, tapering slightly towards the point of the chin. The eyes are not modelled, merely indicated by elevations, which are defined upwards by a groove between the upper edge of the eyes and the eyebrows starting from the base of the nose and marking the position of the eyebrows. The tip of the nose is missing. The mouth is sensitive and full; the upper lip projects beyond the lower. The corners of the mouth are drawn down owing to the drooping outer lines of the upper lip. The forehead-nose line has a depression at the base of the nose; the actual forehead recedes. The chin is long and hanging. The fragments of the ears show that these were large and pronounced. The head had worn a crown or headdress, as shown by the line extending from the ears across the forehead. A uræus was evidently prominent in the centre of the front of the crown or headdress; it is now missing.

Originally the Holtermann head belonged with the utmost certainty to a statuette of the same kind as, for example, that of Nefertiti in Berlin[75]. And like that statuette it was also painted. A microscopic examination of the Holtermann head has in fact revealed black pigment, presumably lamp-black, round the eyes[76].

It is beyond all doubt that this head, of the highest artistic quality, represents Akhenaten himself. One can see here the long, slightly hanging chin and, in addition, the still more reliable criterion, the characteristic mouth with the downturned corners. There is nothing else either that deviates from the king's greatly diversified but nevertheless quite homogeneous iconography.

In style the royal head belongs to a late phase of the Amarna art, when the new idealism had matured and had become mannered[77]. In

[75] Berlin 21263 = K. Lange, König Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit, München 1951, pl. 21. Identity not quite certain.

[76] For this examination I wish to thank my friend Mr. John Ingels, Stockholm.

[77] It should be noted *en passant* that the grouping made by Vandier cannot be taken for granted as a chronological sequence. It is a stylistic question, not yet solved, to what extent the different stylistic phases succeed each other.

VANDIER's grouping referred to above, the Holtermann head could be assigned to the fourth group and would thus, broadly speaking, come close to the Louvre head (E 11076). However, several more striking parallels exist.

It is among the small portraits of Akhenaten's shawabtis that the closest parallels are to be found[78] (Figs. 14—15). It is primarily the apparently unfinished eyes which are significant[79]. On the shawabti figures these were painted as one may suppose—there are some examples in the Cairo Museum, but no investigation of these figures has ever been published—and it was only by means of the painting that the portrait became complete. The Holtermann head had been painted, as noted above, but it cannot come from the same group of representations as the shawabtis. For all the Akhenaten shawabtis that have been published have the traditional false beard. The Holtermann head has no such beard. It is also of rather finer artistic quality than these shawabti figures, which were produced in large quantity.

Other sculptures related in style and technique to the Holtermann head are two representations of Nefertiti in Berlin and London, the latter an unfinished work[80]. There is, in addition, an unidentified head in Berlin, probably portraying one of the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, and also a portrait of a princess in Cairo[81].

Further, there is a small head in Turin mounted in the war helmet which in style is closely related to the Holtermann head. It should most probably be considered a portrait of Akhenaten[82].

The Holtermann head is an excellent exponent of the soft and gentle style that is associated with the maturity and stabilization of the art of Amarna. It is this idealizing style that once more reaches its highest pitch of excellence in style and technique in the tomb-art of Tutankhamun and it is this gentle, sensual element in the style that is destined to live on in art even after Amarna has finally played out its rôle.

[78] A number of these are in Cairo, cf. P. E. NEWBERRY, Funerary statuettes and model sarcophagi, CGC, 1930 ff. pp. 397 ff., but only one head is reproduced=48573, see idem, op. cit., pl. XXXI. University College 007 is reproduced in PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. CV:12 (cf. pl. LXIII). Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Bruxelles has an alabaster head E 6845, cf. BILLE DE MOT, Bulletin des Musées Royaux 3e ser. 7e an. 1935, No 1, pp. 11 f. From the Metropolitan Museum of Art HAYES reproduces a quartzite shawabti, Scepter II, p. 289. Brooklyn Museum has about a hundred unpublished Akhenaten shawabtis of every quality, including 33.50, a fragmentary but characteristic head. Several shawabtis are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but are headless. In addition, these figures are found in private collections too, cf. i.a. J. D. COONEY, Egyptian art in the collection of Albert Gallatin, JNES XII, 1953, p. 12 (not reproduced). It would be urgent to have a complete publication of all these shawabtis, especially as they are of various shapes. The article by C. DE WIT, Une tête d'oushebti d'Amenophis IV au Musée du Cinquantenaire, CdE XL, 1965, pp. 20 ff. is an attempt to make a survey.

[79] This eye part has been the subject of a curious article by P. GILBERT, De la mystique amarnienne au sfumato praxitélien, CdE XXXIII, 1958, pp. 19 ff.

[80] Berlin 21358=LANGE, op. cit., pl. 22; University College UC 010=PENDLEBURY, The city III:2, pl. CV:11.

[81] Berlin 21245=LANGE, op. cit., pl. 26; Cairo 13213 = FRANKFORT & PENDLEBURY, The city II, pl. XXXIX.

[82] The Turin head has been reproduced by J. PIRENNE, Histoire de la civilisation de l'Egypte ancienne II, Neuchâtel 1962, pl. 74. PIRENNE suggests (pp. 538 f.) that it could be a likeness of Smenkhkare.

For some valuable comments on this article I am indebted to Professor T. Säve-Söderbergh, Upsala, Dr. J. D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio and Professor H. H. Brummer, Stockholm-Los Angeles.

For permission to reproduce photographs I thank Louisa Dresser, Curator, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, Dr. C. de Wit, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, Dr. Bernard V. Bothmer, Curator of Ancient Art, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, and the Trustees of the British Museum.

This article has been translated from the Swedish by Miss Kathleen Pain, B. A., Fil. kand., London.

An Italic Iron Age Hut Urn

ARVID ANDRÉN

The hut urn reproduced in Figs. 1—3 was recently acquired by the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Inv. No. MM 1964:20); I am indebted to the director of the Museum, Dr. O. Vessberg, for his having most kindly offered me the privilege of publishing it in this Bulletin.

The urn was purchased in Switzerland. No information is available as to its provenance, except the general one that it comes from Italy. It is made of coarse clay of the type generally described as impasto italico, dark grey in the core, reddish-brown on the surface. The outside of the urn is covered by a greyish, black-mottled slip, on which are preserved considerable traces of geometric ornament in white. The slip is worn off in places, especially on the eaves of the roof. Upon the whole, however, the urn has suffered very small damage.

The dimensions of the urn are: total height, 35.3 cm.; length at base, 31.5 cm., width at base, 33.0 cm.; length of roof, 39.5 cm., width of same, 38.5 cm.; thickness of wall, about 1.0 cm.

The main body of the urn is cylindrical, its walls rising straight and vertically, or with a very slight inclination inwards, from a circular projecting socle, square in section, with a slightly concave periphery. The socle, for reasons to be explained below, does not continue across the opening of the door but passes above it, forming a raised door-frame. The door-opening is trapezoidal, with a small recessed edge below the lintel to recieve the door-slab. This also is trapezoidal and slightly curved but a little too small for the opening, probably owing to shrinkage during the firing. On the outside of the door-slab a little above its lower edge are two small bronze knobs; three lacunae in the calcareous deposit which covers the lower part of the slab suggest that there were once three more knobs placed in line with the two remaining ones. The door-slab was fastened with a pin, now lost, which passed horizontally through a perforation in the right-hand door-post and then through a perforated vertical projection on the inside of the slab; there is, however, no corresponding perforation in the left-hand door-post, whence it may be assumed that the door-slab was held in place by the tension of the pin when pushed against the curved inside of the wall. Opposite the door-opening there is a small perforation made in the back of the wall just above the socle, perhaps to represent some outlet for slops and penetrating rain-water in real Iron Age huts[1].

[1] This interpretation seems probable in view of the



The roof is testudinate, with a ridged top and widely projecting eaves which slope slightly less than the central part of the roof. The ridge is curved and terminates at the front and at the back in a flat, semielliptical end-piece pierced by a large, round vent-hole. On either side of the central part of the roof are six ridge-logs, meeting two by two above the ridge in double horn-like projections, straight or curved more or less downwards[2]. One of the projections of the foremost pair of ridge-logs, which had been broken off and glued on after the discovery of the urn, is now missing. The end of the corresponding projection of the next pair of ridge-logs is also broken off and missing. Each of the projections was decorated with a round bronze cap fastened to its point; two of these caps are preserved, one remaining in situ, the other glued on to its original place.

In the roof there are a great number of perforations. Some of these are in a row along the edges of the semielliptical end-pieces of the ridge. Others are in a row along the edge of the eaves and are spaced in a manner showing that the artisan started piercing the clay at the back, where the holes are set very closely, then proceeded leaving greater interstices between the holes, and stopped at some distance from the starting-point. The irregular spacing suggests that the artisan regarded these perforations as a conventional ornamentation and had no sense of their original purpose, which may have been that of imitating some decoration or withe plaiting along the eaves of real huts. Other perfora-

existence of drainage channels cut in the living rock around the Iron Age hut foundations excavated on the Palatine, as described by S. M. PUGLISI, Gli abitatori primitivi del Palatino attraverso le testimonianze archeologiche e le nuove indagini stratigrafiche sul Germalo, in Mon. Ant., 41, 1951, cc. 47 ff., Figs. 16–17 and Tav. I.

[2] The raised ribs generally seen on the roofs of Italic Iron Age hut urns are mostly taken to represent the rafters of real hut roofs, according to the terminology used by F. v. BEHN, Hausurnen (1924), F. v. DUHN, Italische Gräberkunde, I (1924), J. SUNDWALL, Die italischen Hütternurnen (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora, IV:5, 1925), W. R. BRYAN, Italic Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, IV, 1925), and many other scholars writing on the matter. Others again, in view of the fact that rafters are not visible from the outside of a completed roof, have interpreted the ribs as rafters projected on to the outside of the roof for the sake of exactitude or in order to maintain the vasal character of the urn; cf. A. GRENIER, Bologne villanovienne et ètrusque, p. 81; G. PINZA, Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio, in Mon. Ant., 15, 1905, cc. 473 f.; S. M. PUGLISI, op. cit., cc. 73 f. But the fact that the ribs often stop at or above the beginning of the eaves and are sometimes curved or bent angularly at their lower ends, perhaps in imitation of some contrivance for fastening, makes it probable that they represent logs placed over the ridge and below the vent-holes to weigh down the wattle-and-daub covering of real hut roofs, like the ridge-logs still to be seen on thatched roofs of Scanian, Danish, and North German peasant houses; cf. A. ANDRÉN, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples, p. XXV; Id., Origine e formazione dell'architettura templare etrusco-italica, in Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 32, 1959–60, p. 51, note 73. This is confirmed: a) by the hut urn from Tomb Q of the Forum necropolis, which presents the peculiar feature of having very short ribs made separately and fastened across the ridge with bronze pins; cf. G. BONI, in Not. scavi, 1906, pp. 11 ff., Figs. 5–6; J. SUNDWALL, op. cit., pp. 50 f., Rom, No. 5; E. GJERSTAD, Early Rome, II, p. 30, Fig. 19:1; b) by a hut urn from Vulci, which has along its ridge a series of very short ribs of a form that excludes their being imitations of rafters; cf. R. VIGHI, Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Tav. 5; R. BARTOCCINI, Vulci, storia scavi rinvenimenti (1960), p. 5, Tav. II, Fig. 2; A. ANDRÉN, Origine etc., pp. 53 f., Fig. 21; M. MORETTI, Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, p. 28, Fig. 21; c) by a recently discovered hut urn from Vulci, which—like another Italic hut urn described by GISELA M. A. RICHTER, in Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of art, New York, 34, 1939, pp. 66–68, Figs. 1–2—is peculiar by being made entirely of sheet bronze, with pairs of separate ornamental bronze rods across the ridge and a series of bronze ringlets along the eaves; I am indebted to Dr. M. Moretti, Soprintendente and Director of the Museo di Villa Giulia, for having kindly shown me this hut urn and allowed me to make a note of it; d) by the well-known bronze house urn from Civita Castellana, which is also provided with separate bronze strips placed cross-wise along the ridge; cf. G. Q. GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. IV:4. My interpretation has been accepted by E. GJERSTAD, op. cit., II, p. 30, note 1, and by P. G. GIEROW, The Iron Age Culture of Latium, II:1 (1964).

The V-shaped projections which are ranged along the ridge of the roof of many Italic Iron Age hut urns, and are sometimes transformed, especially in Etruria, into more or less horn-like, serpentine or anserine shapes, thus have a structural origin, reproducing the crossed upper ends of the ridge-logs, which were probably similarly transformed in many real huts, for decoration and/or with an apotropaic intention, and—it is reasonable to suppose—without any inspiration from the "Mond- bzw. Hörnerpaarmotiv" of Minoan and sub-Minoan representations, as proposed by H. MÜLLER-KARPE, Vom Anfang Roms, pp. 48 f.; cf. M. PALLOTTINO, Le origini di Roma, in Archeologia Classica, 12, 1960, p. 15, and E. GJERSTAD, in Gnomon, 33, 1961, pp. 378 ff.



Fig. 1. Italic hut urn (MM 1964:20).



Fig. 2. MM 1964:20.



Fig. 3. MM 1964:20.

tions, a little larger than those mentioned, are placed two by two radially at eight equidistant places higher up on the eaves in such a way that the lower hole of each pair goes through the roof outside, the upper one inside the wall, which is itself pierced by a similar hole just below each pair of these perforations. The placing of these triplet perforations makes it highly probable that they are meant to indicate how the roof was fastened to the wall in real huts, by binding it on with withes passed through both members. There is nothing, however, to suggest that pins, threads or wires have been actually passed through any of the perforations described.

The urn was also adorned, as already stated, with geometric ornament in white. Remains of this decoration are to be seen all over the urn. On the door-slab, within a border composed of a zigzag line between two straight lines, is a square field divided into four parts filled with angles. Round the wall, between double borders of similar zigzag bands, was a series of square "metopes", each consisting of a frame of zigzag bands round a field filled with angles or other geometric patterns now hardly distinguishable. On the eaves are traces of a series of disconnected meander hooks above two concentric zigzag bands. On one of the ridge-logs are remains of two interwoven zigzag lines. The projecting parts of the ridge-logs are decorated with small encircling stripes of white, zebra-fashion. An analysis carried out by Mrs. Eva Brita Blomberg

at the laboratory of the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, has shown that the entire geometric decoration of our hut urn, and the similar decoration seen on some Villanova sherds found during the excavations undertaken at Veii by the British School at Rome, are executed with very thin strips or lamellae of tin applied to the surface of the impasto (Fig. 4), as was rightly suggested by a member of the School, Miss Joanna Close-Brooks[2a].

The extensive use of bronze ornaments, perforations, and geometric decoration executed in the manner just mentioned, combine to make this hut urn a particularly fine and interesting specimen of its kind[3]. But what makes it still more interesting is the unparalleled feature of its having no bottom. The lower edge of its wall is largely covered by a white calcareous matter resembling fine mortar, traces of which are also left on the inside of the wall below, on and above the socle on its outside and, as already mentioned, on the lower part of the door-slab. This calcareous matter has been examined by Mrs. Blomberg and Dr. Vessberg, who share the opinion expressed by Miss Close-Brooks that it is of the same nature as the deposit often seen on Villanova ossuaries, which probably comes from the tufa ground upon which the vessels were placed. In spite of this deposit it can be clearly seen that the wall has no traces of breaks

[2a] I am much indebted to Miss Close-Brooks for having revised this and the following article in point of language and made the suggestions mentioned. I also wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Blomberg for the spectographic analysis referred to. I give here an English version of Mrs. Blomberg's report of this analysis.

"The analysis was carried out on samples of metal inlay on the door of the hut urn. The following spectra lines were measured on the plate:

2354 Sn	2663 Pb
2706 Sn	2666 Cu
2840 Sn	3247 Cu
2863 Sn	3273 Cu
3175 Sn	
3262 Sn	

It is thus seen that the metal inlays mainly consist of tin. The amount of copper is not sufficiently large to raise the melting temperature of the metal appreciably above 300° C (the melting point of tin), whence it must be assumed that the metal was applied to the vessel after the firing. The pattern was perhaps marked on the clay before the firing with incisions in which the tin was subsequently laid. As shown by micro-photographs, the metal was applied in the form of bands folded into angles to obtain the decoration."

For vases and hut urns with decoration executed by means of tin or lead lamellae, and for the methods used for the application of such lamellae, generally with some resinous glue, cf. Berta Stjernquist, Ornamentation métallique sur vases d'argile, in Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum, 1958, pp. 107 ff., and La decorazione metallica delle ceramiche villanoviane, in Civiltà del ferro (Bologna 1960), pp. 431 ff.

[3] The decoration of Italic Iron Age clay hut urns with bronze ornaments is probably a feature taken over from hut urns of bronze like those referred to in note 2. Anyhow, such ornaments are rare and generally consist of miniature garlands or pendants hanging from the eaves, or of small nails fixed along the edges of the eaves and/or in the clay plugs used to close the vent-holes; cf. I. Falchi, Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima, pp. 55 ff., Tav. IV:4 and 10; Sundwall, op.cit., Vetulonia, Nos. 3, 30, 35–37, Tarquinia, Nos. 4 and 6; Bryan, op.cit., Nos. 32, 44, 45, 53, Fig. 13; G. Q. Giglioli, op.cit., Tav. III:1; D. Levi, in Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia, Fasc. VIII, Firenze, Fasc. I, Tav. 9:18, 10:19.

There is no parallel, as far as I am aware, to the system of triplet perforations piercing roof and wall at equidistant points, as seen in our hut urn. A row of perforations along the edge of the eaves, on the other hand, is a common feature of a great number of hut urns from Vetulonia and is also met with in some hut urns from Latium; cf. Sundwall, op.cit., Vetulonia, Nos. 1–4, 6–7, 11, 13, 16, 25, 27, 30, 36–39, Albanergebirge, Nos. 3, 4, 10, 13; Gierow, op.cit., II:1, Figs. 12:1, 43:1, 190, 198:3, 200:6. Three hut urns from Vetulonia present the peculiar feature of having, among the small perforations of the eaves, some larger holes, equidistant and corresponding with similar holes in the socle; cf. I. Falchi, op.cit., p. 49, Tav. III:9, pp. 77 ff.; Sundwall, op.cit., pp. 9 ff., Vetulonia, Nos. 13, 16, 25; Bryan, op.cit., No. 39; D. Levi, op.cit., Tav. 6:23, 7:28, 9:18, 12:9 and 11. These larger holes were probably made to receive pins representing wooden props supporting the eaves in real Iron Age huts, in the manner illustrated by African huts of today; cf., for instance, those of a Gwemba Tonga village in Northern Rhodesia, reproduced in The Illustrated London News, June 20, 1964, p. 988, Fig. 1. In this connexion must also be mentioned a well-known hut urn from Campo Fattore, Marino, with two detached pillars of clay supporting the eaves on either side of the door; cf. Sundwall, op.cit., Albanergebirge, No. 7; Puglisi, op.cit., Fig. 24; Gierow, op.cit., II:1, pp. 117 f., Figs. 60–61:1.

Hut urns with geometric decoration, incised, or executed with tin lamellae, are frequent among those found at Vetulonia, Tarquinia, and Bisenzio, less frequent among those from Latium; cf. Sundwall, op.cit., Vetulonia, Nos. 7, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35–37, Tarquinia, Nos. 2–7, Visentium, Nos. 1–3, 13, Albanergebirge, Nos. 1,

or secondary cutting along its lower edge on the inside, but is finished off smoothly, thus showing that the urn was really made without a bottom[4]. It can also be seen, when studying the urn from below, that the inside of the roof is blackened as if by a smoking fire.

For the explanation of these facts we have to rely on what may be inferred from the facts themselves, since no information is available as to the grave in which the urn was found. In my opinion, the only possible explanation is the following one. Just as the lid of Italic Iron Age ash urns of ordinary shape was sometimes made in the form of a hut roof[5], symbolizing that the urn was the house of the dead, so here, exceptionally, the whole hut urn was made, bottomless, to be used as a cover over a pit in the living rock, containing the burnt remains of a body. These remains were evidently still smouldering when the urn was put in its place. Since the urn is remarkably well preserved, it was probably protected by a stone slab covering the pozzo or perhaps by some stone construction like the small tholos in which was discovered a well-known hut urn from Velletri[6].

As already stated, the purchasing museum has no information as to the place where the urn was discovered, and there is reason to suppose that the discovery has been purposely kept a complete secret. The urn, however, is clearly shown to come from Etruria by such details as the large and fanciful projections of the ridge-logs, the large round vent-holes, and the fastening of the door-slab by passing the bolting pin through perforations made in the door-frame and in a projection on the inside of the slab, for these features are mostly found, separately or together, in hut urns from Etruria[7], whereas in the hut urns from Latium, which are earlier than the great majority of those found in Etruria, the projections of the ridge-logs are generally short or non-existent, the vent-holes non-existent or indicated by a curved or triangular hood, and the door-slab usually fastened with a pin passed through two perforated projections on the door-posts and another on the outside of the slab[8]. It is even possible to ascribe the urn to a definite site in Etruria, in view of the fact that, except for its lack of a bottom, its bronze ornaments, and

7, 10, 12, Rom, Nos. 4, 6; Gjerstad, op.cit., II, Figs. 105:2, 226:1; Gierow, op.cit., II:1, Figs. 44:2, 61:1, 198:3.

A hut urn discussed by S. M. Puglisi, in Bull. Paletn. Ital., 8, 1953, pp. 32 ff., and by the present author in Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 32, 1959–60, pp. 57 f., Fig. 23, is peculiar in having a very high-pitched roof with perforated eaves, a coarsely modelled human figure placed on the roof above the door, and notched ridge-logs reaching the edge of the eaves and terminating above the ridge in almost horizontal projections, with two additional pairs of similar projections placed directly on the ridge; in each projection of the four front pairs is a hole perhaps for some bronze ornament now lost. This urn is of unknown provenance and has been thought to come from Latium; but its pot-shaped body without a socle, its unframed door-opening, and the fastening of its door-slab with bronze rings, instead of the usual bolting pin, suggest that it may have been found at Bisenzio, where hut urns with similar features have been discovered; cf. Sundwall, op.cit., pp. 25 ff., Visentium, Nos. 1–13; Bryan, op.cit., Nos. 57–65, Figs. 17–21 a–b.

[4] I know of no other Italic hut urn made without a bottom. A hut urn from Montecucco in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican, described by G. Pinza, Materiali per la etnologia antica toscano-laziale, p. 55, Fig. 38, Tav. VI:3; Sundwall, op.cit., p. 39, Albanergebirge, No. 8; Gierow, op.cit., II:1, pp. 348 f., Fig. 208:1, is said to have served as a cover ("soll als Deckel gedient haben") but is, anyhow, provided with a regular bottom.

[5] Cf. the list given by Bryan, op.cit., pp. 193 ff., Nos. 1–15, 20; Gjerstad, op.cit., II, Figs. 42:2–3, 236:2–3; Gierow, op.cit., II:1, Figs. 19:2–3, 27:2–3, 33:17–20, 46:35, 58:8, 181:36–37, 194:24, 203:54, 206:27–28. Of especial interest is a jar from Castel Gandolfo with a framed rectangular side opening like the door of a hut urn and a hut-roof lid made in one piece with the vase; cf. Gierow, op.cit., II:1, Fig. 201:14. Another interesting hybrid form is represented by a number of ossuary lids in the form of a helmet crowned by a small imitation hut roof instead of the usual knob; cf. Bryan, op.cit., pp. 197 ff., Nos. 16–19, 21–23; Vighi, op.cit., Tav. 3; Moretti, op.cit., pp. 26 f., Fig. 16.

[6] Cf. F. Barnabei, in Not. scavi, 1893, pp. 198 ff., Fig. 1.

[7] Cf. the hut urns from Vetulonia, Tarquinia, Bisenzio and Vulci already referred to, some of which are also illustrated in Bryan, op.cit., Figs. 6–7, 11–14, 18–21 a–b, and in addition another hut urn from Vulci reproduced in Moretti, op.cit., Fig. 20.

[8] This is true of almost every hut urn described in the works of Gjerstad and Gierow quoted above. It also applies to the hut urn from the territory of Rieti published by D. Brusadin, in Bull. Paletn. Ital., 65, 1956, pp. 449 ff., Fig. 2.



Fig. 4. Micro-photograph of the decoration of the hut urn MM 1964:20. Enlargement to ca. 7 times the size.



Fig. 5. Hut urn from Vulci in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome. Photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell' Etruria Meridionale.

its many perforations, it presents so great a similarity to a hut urn from Vulci in the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome (Fig. 5)[9] that it may be reasonably supposed to come from the same Etruscan city and even from the same workshop as this other urn.

The Swedish museum is to be congratulated on having been able to acquire—once it had been brought to light and into the antiquarian market outside Italy—this exceptionally interesting Iron Age hut urn. But at the same time there is every reason to deplore that it has been unearthed by clandestine diggers in a manner that has deprived us of all knowledge of the form and funeral furniture of the grave in which it was once deposited.

[9] VIGHI, op.cit., Tav. 4; BARTOCCINI, op.cit., p. 5, Tav. II, Fig. 1; MORETTI, op.cit., Fig. 22; A. BOËTHIUS, The Etruscan Centuries in Italy, in Etruscan Culture, Land and People, p. 24, Fig. 21. This hut urn has unperforated eaves, semielliptical end-pieces to the ridge with round vent-holes and perforated edges, a well-preserved geometric decoration probably executed with tin or lead lamellae, and striped ridge-log projections without bronze caps; each of the two ultimate projections at the back is perforated with a round hole near its top. The bottom of the urn projects as a small platform in front of the door-sill, but there is no socle. The door-slab was fastened, as in the urn of the Stockholm museum, with a pin passed through a hole in the wall behind the right-hand door-post and then through a perforated projection on the inside of the slab, there being no corresponding hole behind the left-hand door-post. The same system of fastening the door-slab is to be observed in the vulcentine hut urn referred to in note 2 (b). Both these urns were discovered clandestinely in the Cavalupo necropolis, "particularmente presa di mira dai nuovi saccheggiatori" (BARTOCCINI, loc.cit.).



An Italic Iron Age Belt Plate

ARVID ANDRÉN

The bronze plate reproduced in Fig. 1 was presented to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm by the present author, who had received it from Signor M. Barsanti in Rome, in return for some archaeological publications. The plate (Inv. No. MM 1964:21) consists of a sheet of bronze, perfectly circular (diam., 18.2 cm., thickness, 0.1 cm.) and slightly convex-concave in the middle. The convex side of the plate is decorated with a stamped and incised geometric design. In the middle is a five-pointed star outlined with double rows of stamped dots, around a central motif of incised concentric circles; the spaces between the five points are filled with angles made with a fine-toothed tool. The star is surrounded by three concentric zones, each composed of a zigzag band executed with a triangular stamp and bordered on either side by a band of concentric incised lines; the zones are separated from each other and from the central ornament by concentric rows of stamped dots. The design is further enriched by a number of small knobs made by driving a blunt tool against the undecorated concave side of the plate, five knobs being placed in the angles between the points of the star, and four knobs in each of the concentric zigzag bands.

The plate is perforated by ten round holes placed two by two in the outer zigzag band, four pairs of holes at one side of the plate, with interstices of 2.0, 2.5, and 3.5 cm. between the pairs, and the fifth pair at the opposite side of the plate. At the side perforated by the close-set pairs of holes a piece of the plate has been broken off and reattached in antiquity, probably with wires (now lost) fastened in two other pairs of holes bored through the edge of the plate at the ends of the severed piece, one hole on either side of the break; the fourth hole was in a small fragment now missing.

The form, size and decoration of the plate, and the original set of perforations, denote that we have to do with a piece of armour of a kind known to us through the furniture of early inhumation tombs discovered in the territories once inhabited by the ancient Umbri, Sabini, Picentes, Vestini, Aequi, Marsi, Paeligni, and Samnites; the chief find-places are at Perugia, Bevagna, Norcia, and Chieti, at Rapagnano, Belmonte Piceno, and Numana, in the region of Aquila and in that of Alba Fucense, at Alfedena, and in the Basilicata[1]. Sporadic examples have

[1] Cf. M. GUARDABASSI, in Not. scavi, 1880, pp. 20 ff.,

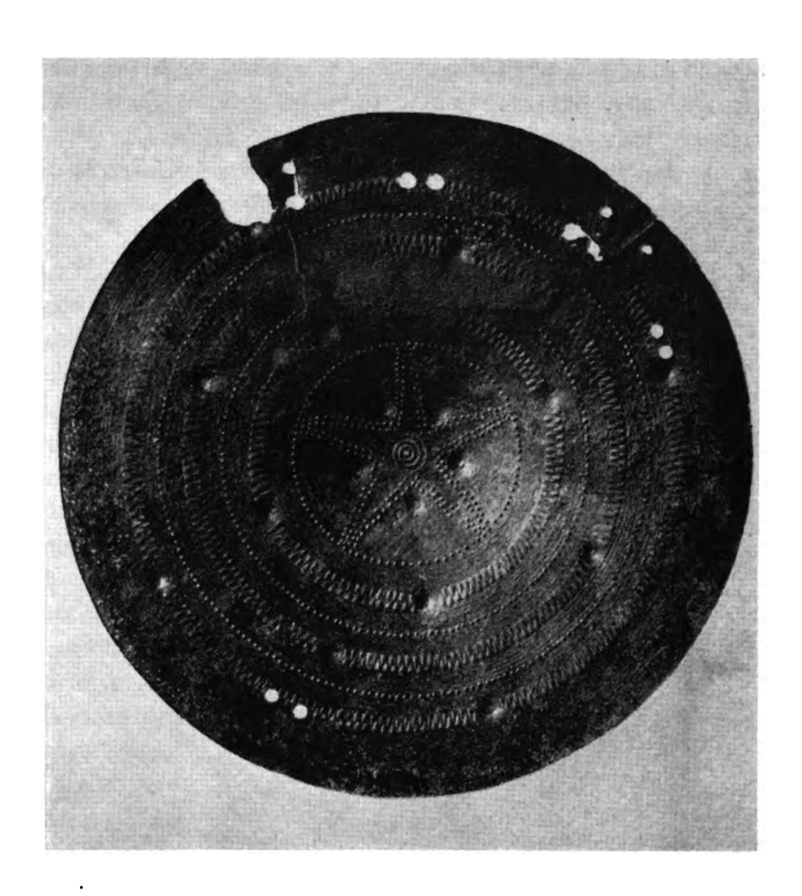


Fig. 1. Bronze plate. MM 1964:21.

also come to light at Palestrina[2], Capena[3], Cerveteri[4], Tolfa-Allumiere[5], Vetulonia[6], and Pisa (?)[7]. Three plates, once in the possession of the elder Signor Barsanti in Rome[8], are so like the one described here that all four of them may be considered to come from the same site, which is, however, unknown.

Among the plates thus discovered, one earlier and one later type may be clearly distinguished. The plates of the earlier, Iron Age, type consist, like our specimen, of a circular bronze sheet worked into a convex-concave shape and decorated with stamped and incised or open-work geometric patterns arranged in concentric zones

Tav. II: 8–10, 17–19; F. Raffaelli, in Not. scavi, 1881, pp. 164 f., with Fig.; A. De Nino, in Not. scavi, 1885, pp. 658 f; A. Furtwängler, in Arch. Anz., 1893, pp. 88 f., No. 14; L. Pigorini, in Not. scavi, 1895, pp. 255 ff., Figs. 5–9; L. Mariani, Aufidena, in Mon. Ant., 10, 1901, pp. 348 ff., Tav. XIII; I. Dall'Osso, Guida illustrata del Museo di Ancona (1915), Figs. on pp. 113, 116, 118, 121, and 138; G. Pinza, Materiali per la etnologia antica toscano-laziale, I (1915), pp. 147 ff.; V. Dumitrescu, L'età del ferro nel Piceno (Bucarest 1929), pp. 44 ff., Fig. 6; P. Marconi, La cultura orientalizzante nel Piceno, in Mon. Ant., 35, 1933, pp. 358 ff., Tav. XXII; G. Moretti, Il guerriero italico di Capestrano (1936), Tav. VI:1, 2, 5, 6; U. Tarchi, L'arte etrusco-romana nell'Umbria e nella Sabina (1936), Tav. CIV.

[2] G. Pinza, op.cit., p. 150, Tav. 3.

[3] R. Paribeni, Necropoli del territorio capenate, in Mon. Ant., 16, 1906, pp. 410 ff., Tav II.

[4] W. Helbig, Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutet (2. Aufl., 1887), pp. 319 f., Fig. 122; L'épopée homérique (1894), p. 409, Fig. 148.

[5] G. A. Colini, in Bull. Paletn. Ital., 35, 1910, p. 178, Tav. XIV:4.

[6] I. Falchi, in Not. scavi, 1900, pp. 479 f., Fig. 11.

[7] P. Marconi, op.cit., pp. 359 ff., Fig. 32.

[8] G. Pinza, op.cit., p. 150, Tav. 4.

around a central geometric motif. These plates are generally, but not always, provided with holes like those seen in our specimen, three, four, or five holes, or pairs of holes, being placed along the edge of the disc on one side, and another hole, or pair of holes, on the opposite side. The holes were made to hold nails with large, knob-like heads, partly preserved in some plates; the nails were held in place by having their ends turned into a small loop at the back of the plate. The plates were often found in pairs of one larger and another smaller specimen, the latter decorated like the larger one, but with one single hole or nail in the centre. There are also a few plates in which the zones of geometric ornament include a zone of phantastic animals or other orientalizing designs executed in the same manner as the geometric ornamentation.

Fig. 2. The warrior of Capestrano. Museo Nazionale, Chieti. Photo Anderson.



In the plates of the later type, ascribable to the period of orientalizing art, animals of the same phantastic shape return as a dominating ornament, enlarged and executed in relief, within a row of knobs ranged along the periphery of the plate. There are also undecorated plates bordered by a similar row of knobs, or by a plain raised edge. All these plates, plain or decorated with reliefs, were generally strengthened by an iron ring and leather covering at the back, and were also provided with ornamental bronze straps fastened to diametrically opposite points of their periphery, uniting one plate to another similar one. The later development of this type of plate is illustrated by two plates from Rapagnano, decorated within a raised border with figured scenes in relief representing warriors in combat and executed in a style attesting influence from archaic Greek art of the early fifth century B.C.[9] On the borders of these plates are pairs or triplets of nail-heads, placed not at diametrically opposite points, but at the ends of radii drawn at right angles.

The perforations, nail-heads, and straps regularly appearing on and with the plates make it evident that these plates were not used as phalerae, shield-buckles, or lids for situlae, as

[9] I. Dall'Osso, op.cit., Figs. on pp. 113 and 116; R. Mac Iver, The Iron Age in Italy, Pl. 29.



some earlier scholars thought[10], but were parts of belts worn—as was clearly shown by a tomb at Alfedena[11]—over the right shoulder, so that one plate covered part of the chest and the other plate, which was sometimes smaller, was at the back of the warrior.

The best illustration of how these belt plates were worn is however given by the famous Warrior of Capestrano (Fig. 2), although some details were not made quite clear by the sculptor who carved this remarkable statue[12]. The two plates, covering parts of the sword-belt, are connected by a broad strap passed over the right shoulder and fastened to either plate with a rectangular piece of metal nailed on to plate and strap. On the front plate, at a point on the periphery opposite to where the shoulder strap is fastened, is a loop from which issues a smaller strap passed under the left arm; at the back of the statue, however, there are two similar straps brought up from under the left arm and seemingly connected with the sword-belt, though one of them at least ought to be attached to a corresponding loop on the back plate. Another strap issues from the edge of the back plate without any visible attachment to it and passes under the right arm but does not reappear on the front of the statue.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the Capestrano Warrior confirms what may be deduced from the holes and nail-heads of the actual plates, namely that there were necessarily, in addition to the belt straps carrying the plates, some other strap or straps fastened to the periphery of one plate at various points and then passed round the body to be connected with the other plate, or perhaps with the sword-belt, all in order to keep the plates securely in position, which must have been of vital importance should they really protect the heart. Even so, the two belt plates were of course a very primitive and insufficient means of protecting. An improvement may have been accomplished by simply putting on a second plate belt across the first one and a third plate belt around the waist, so that heart and lungs were covered by two breast plates and the diaphragm above the mitra by the third plate. The two or three plates thus arranged were probably connected permanently, in a second stage of development, at the points where they touched each other, as is suggested by certain tomb and vase paintings[13]. Finally, the three plates were merged into one triangular breast-plate of the Samnitic type known through tomb and vase paintings[14], bronze statuettes[15], and several well-preserved examples found in tombs e.g. at Sulmona[16], Alfedena[17], Ruvo[18], and Paestum[19].

[10] Cf. G. PINZA, op.cit., p. 147 and notes 2–4, p. 148 and notes 3–4. The plate from Cerveteri described by W. HELBIG, op.cit., is said to have preserved at the periphery "Fragmente der umgebenden bronzenen Schildfläche". The plate, however, presents the regular perforations of three+one hole and was thus apparently made as a belt plate. A row of smaller holes round its periphery and the fragments spoken of by Helbig suggest, however, that it may have been reused as a shield buckle.

[11] L. MARIANI, op.cit., p. 300, Fig. 44; G. PINZA, op.cit., p. 151, Fig. 98; G MORETTI, op.cit., Tav. V:7.

[12] In addition to the figures and plates of G. Moretti's fundamental publication of the Warrior, already cited, cf. especially A. BOËTHIUS, Livy 8, 10, 12 and the Warrior Image from Capestrano, in Eranos, 54, 1956, pp. 202–210, with a drawing of the Warrior's equipment reproduced in Fig. 2. Cf. also G. CRESSEDI, in Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, II, pp. 320 f., with bibliography.

[13] Cf. F. WEEGE, Oskische Grabmalerei, in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Arch. Inst., 24, 1909, pp. 99 ff., Fig. 9; A. D. TRENDALL, Paestan Pottery (1936), Pls. XXXI b, XXXIII c.

[14] Cf. E. PETERSEN, in Röm. Mitt., 11, 1896, pp. 265 ff., with Fig. on p. 267; F. WEEGE, op.cit., Fig. 13.

[15] Cf. especially the bronze statuette of a Samnite warrior in the Louvre, described by A. DE RIDDER, Bronzes antiques du Louvre, No. 124, Fig. 9; P. DUCATI, L'Italia antica, Plate facing p. 256; Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, IV, p. 266, Fig. 314.

[16] G. MORETTI, op.cit., Fig. 8.

[17] L. MARIANI, op.cit., pp. 358 f., Fig. 78.

[18] E. PETERSEN, in Röm. Mitt., 12, 1897, pp. 112 ff., 123 f., Fig. 1: 6; F. WEEGE, op.cit., Figs. 21–22.

[19] P. C. SESTIERI, in Not. scavi, 1957, pp. 174 f., Fig. 3.

Vaso d' impasto a decorazione graffita con teoria di animali fantastici[1]

ANNA MURA

Il vaso che presento in questo articolo è stato acquistato recentemente da S. M. il Re Gustavo Adolfo di Svezia, presso un antiquario romano, ed è attualmente conservato nel Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm (MM 1964:6). Si tratta di un'olla di piccole dimensioni (alt. m. 0,25; diam. mass. m. 0,254; imboccatura diam. m. 0,152; base diam. m. 0,8), di argilla non depurata, lavorata a tornio e con la superficie ornata a graffito e lucidata a stecca. Il vaso, restaurato da numerosi frammenti e mancante di parti, ha corpo globulare, piccolo piede a listello, collo cilindrico con imboccatura svasata e scanalata all'interno (figg. 1 e 3).

La decorazione graffita, delimitata da due linee parallele, ricopre tutta la superficie del vaso a partire dalla spalla. Su di essa, infatti, è una fila di doppi archetti intrecciati, sul ventre una teoria di animali fantastici gradienti verso destra, formata da due figure feline e due equine (fig. 2a, b). Le figure sono caratterizzate da corpi molto allungati e arcuati, nei quali l'impalcatura delle costole è espressa con un motivo di gruppi di linee oblique e convergenti. I felini hanno fauci spalancate, zampe terminanti con artigli, criniera segnata da un motivo a squame. I cavalli hanno sul petto un motivo a croce uncinata. Tutte le figure presentano sul dorso una protome caprina e sotto il ventre singole o doppie volute campite da linee verticali, interrotte da un gruppo di linee orizzontali.

Questo vaso si inserisce chiaramente, per la tecnica di esecuzione, per la tipologia, per i caratteri stilistici, in quella produzione di ceramica d'impasto con superficie lucidata a stecca e decorazione graffita con motivi di repertorio "orientalizzante", tipica del territorio capenate[2] nella seconda metà del VII secolo a.C.

Qualche esemplare simile non manca tuttavia nelle contemporanee necropoli del territorio falisco[3].

Il centro primario del territorio capenate, Capena, è stato localizzato da recenti studi sulla collina di Civitucola, che sorge a breve distanza

[1] Ringrazio vivamente i proff. O. Vessberg e A. Boëthius per avermi affidato la pubblicazione di questo vaso. Un ringraziamento particolare desidero esprimere al prof. M. Pallottino, per i suggerimenti datimi nel corso del mio lavoro.

[2] Questo territorio, confinante con i Falisci a N, i Sabini ad E, i Latini a S, gli Etruschi ad O, comprendeva quella parte del moderno Lazio, racchiusa tra lo sbocco del Gramiccia nel Tevere a S, la via Flaminia ad occidente, il Tevere ad oriente.

[3] Cfr. H. HOLLAND, The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times, Pap. Mon. Am. Ac. Rome, V, 1925, p. 83 ss.; F. BARNABEI, Dei fittili scoperti nella necropoli di Narce, MALinc IV, 1894, p. 165 ss.

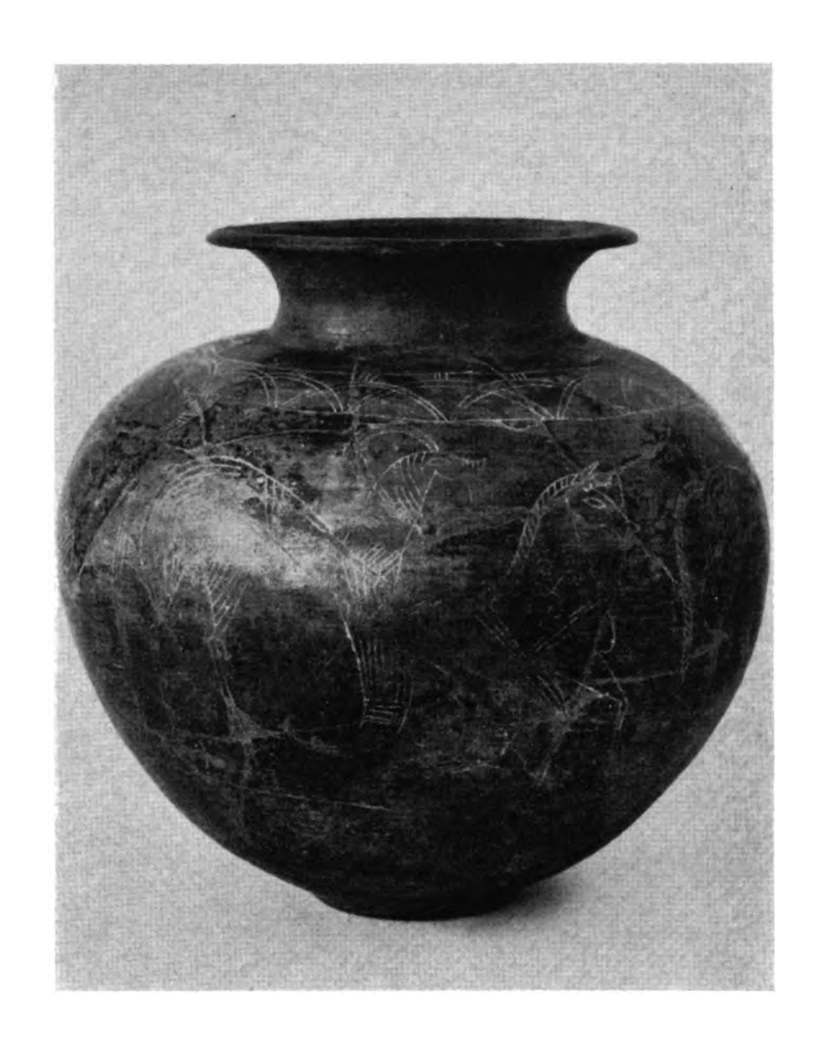
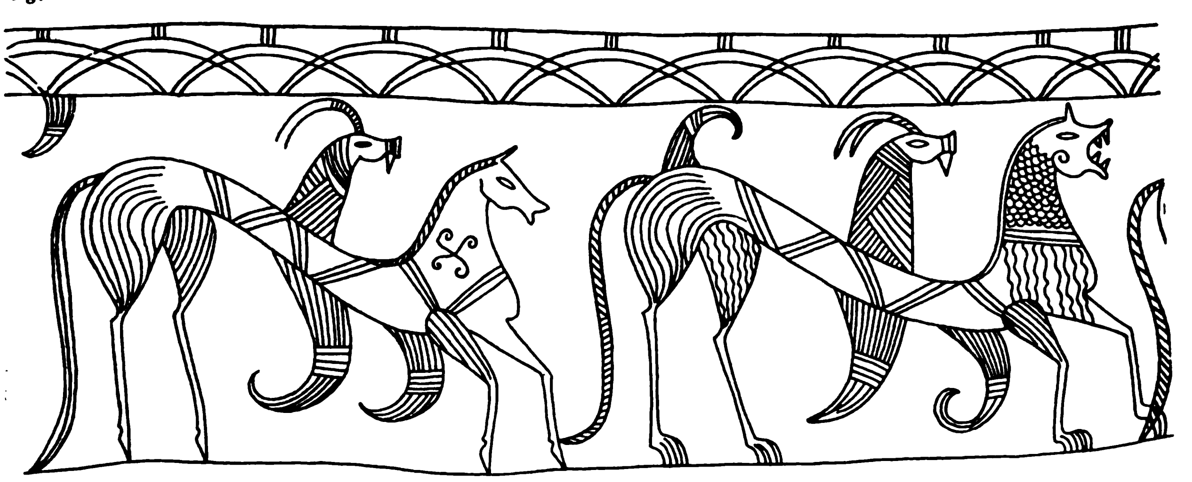


Fig. 1. Vaso d'impasto del territorio capenate. MM 1964:6.

Fig. 2 a. MM 1964:6. La decorazione. Disegno di B. Millberg.



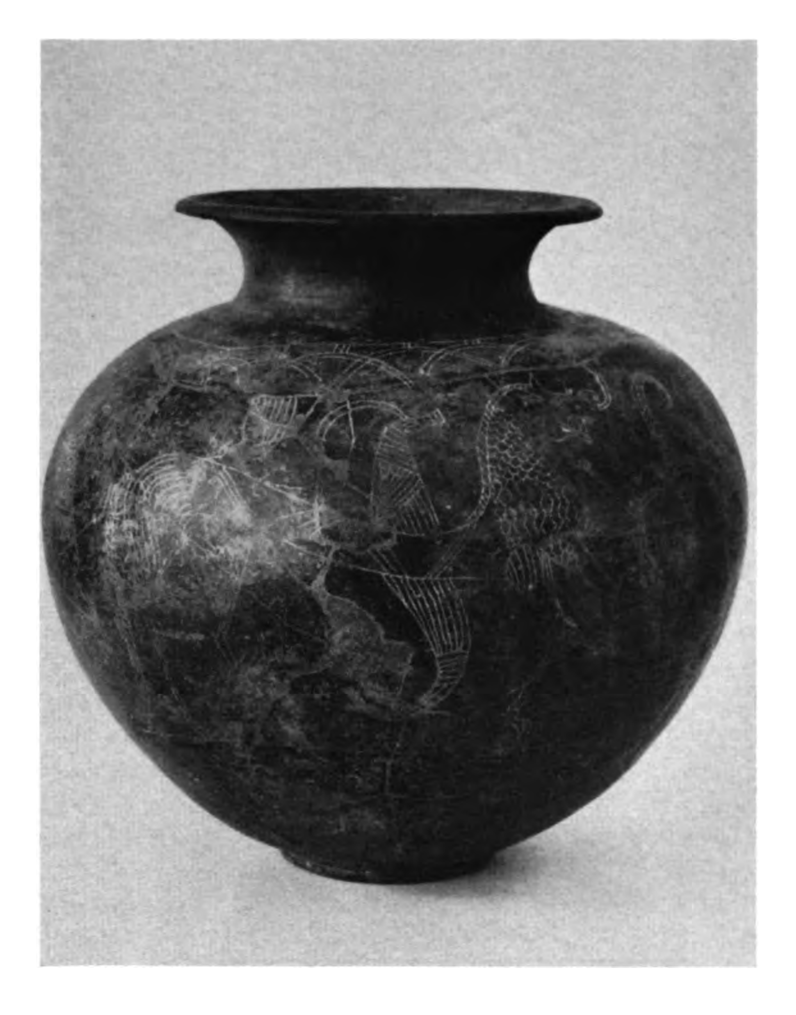
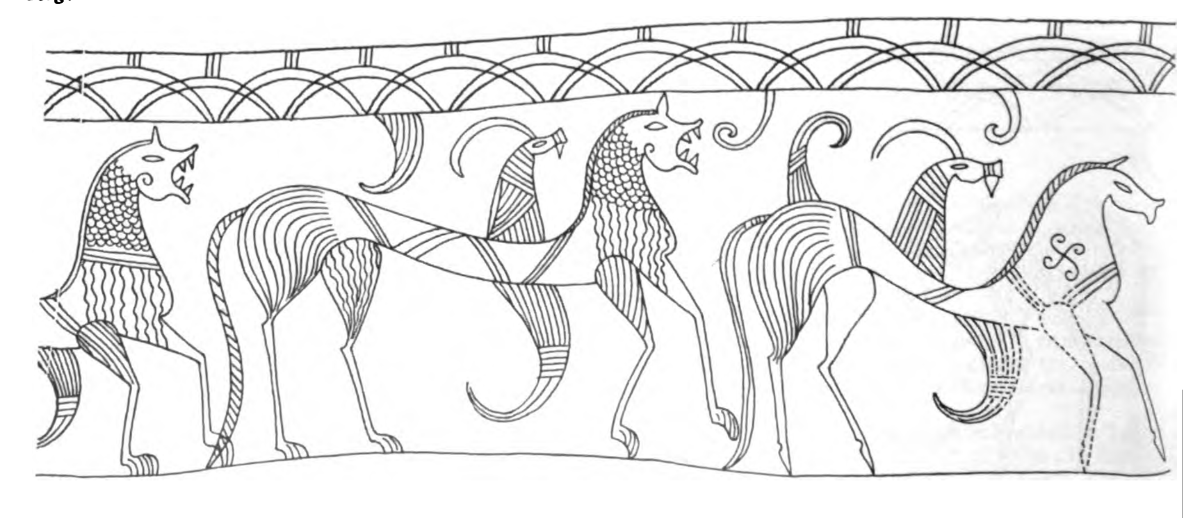


Fig. 3. MM 1964:6.

Fig. 2 b. MM 1964:6. La decorazione. Disegno di B. Millberg.



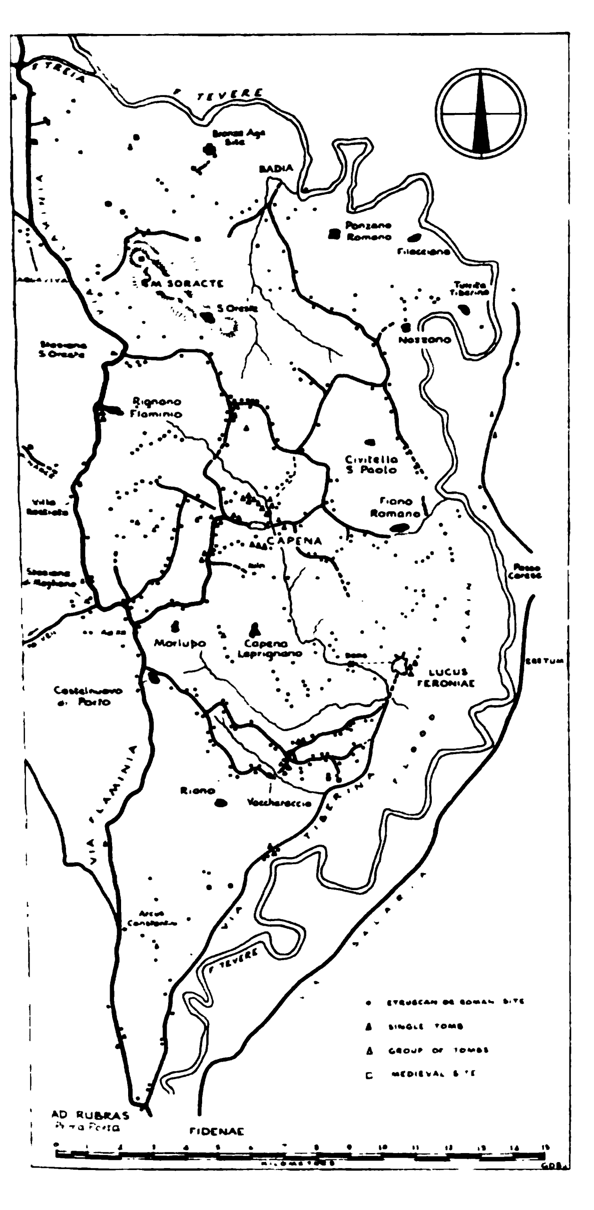


Fig. 4. Da G.D.B. Jones, BSR XXXI, Tav. XLIII.

dalla moderna Capena, sulla riva destra del Tevere, al centro della linea che unisce il 33° km. della via Flaminia al 23° della via Tiberina[4] (fig. 4).

[4] Per la identificazione del sito dell'antica Capena, si veda G. Mancini, NSc 1953, p. 18 ss. Per un più completo studio topografico di Capena e del territorio capenate cfr. G. D. B. Jones, Capena and the Ager Capenas, BSR XXX, 1962, pp. 116–207; XXXI, 1963, pp. 100–158.

Scavi sistematici eseguiti nell'area della città e nelle sue necropoli: "Le Saliere", "Le Macchie", "Monte Cornazzano", "S. Martino", hanno portato alla scoperta di più di cinquecento tombe, di cui pubblicata soltanto una parte[5]. Lo studio dei materiali rinvenuti in queste tombe ci permette di seguire lo sviluppo culturale di questo centro italico dalla prima età del ferro al II secolo a.C.[6] e di aprire uno spiraglio sui suoi rapporti commerciali con i centri finitimi[7].

La massima espansione e floridezza Capena dovette raggiungere nel corso del VII secolo, quando in Etruria era nel pieno fiore la cultura "orientalizzante"[8]. Nel corso del VII secolo Capena sviluppa, infatti, una produzione artigianale su larga scala di ceramica d'impasto caratterizzata da una decorazione graffita, excisa o dipinta con motivi di repertorio geometrico od orientalizzante. Di produzione capenate sono forse da ritenersi inoltre le numerose placche rettangolari di lamina di bronzo con pallottole riportate, appartenenti a cinturoni, rinvenute in tombe dello stesso periodo[9].

La produzione dei vasi d'impasto è caratteriz-

[5] R. Paribeni, NSc 1905, pp. 301–362; Id., Necropoli del territorio capenate, MALinc XVI, 1906, pp. 277–240; E. Stefani, BPI XXXVIII, 1913, p. 147 ss.; Id., Capena. Ricerche archeologiche nella contrada "Le Saliere", MALinc XLIV, 1958, pp. 1–204; G. Bendinelli, NSc 1922, pp. 110–147. Lo studio complessivo dei risultati di queste campagne di scavo e la pubblicazione del materiale inedito, è oggetto di un mio lavoro di prossima pubblicazione cui si rimanda per più ampie notizie. Brevi notizie di carattere generale su Capena e sulla suppellettile proveniente dalle sue necropoli è in A. Della Seta, Il Museo di Villa Giulia, Roma 1918, pp. 321–355.

[6] A questo periodo si riferisce, infatti, l'iscrizione di un'anfora vinaria col nome di L. Anicio, uno dei consoli del 160 a.C., rinvenuta in una tomba della fase più tarda, cfr. E. Stefani, MALinc cit., p. 177 ss.

[7] Per i rapporti commerciali di Capena con i centri finitimi e per le possibili vie di comunicazione cfr. G. Colonna, Placche arcaiche da cinturone di produzione capenate, AC X, 1958, pp. 76–78; R. Paribeni, MALinc cit., pp. 488–90.

[8] Sulla cultura "orientalizzante" e sulla sua diffusione in Etruria, si veda M. Pallottino in EUA X, 1964, s.v. "Orientalizzante", pp. 223–237.

[9] Per lo studio di queste placche da cinturone e per la loro attribuzione a produzione capenate, si rimanda al citato studio di G. Colonna, p. 69 ss.



Fig. 5. Museo di Villa Giulia.

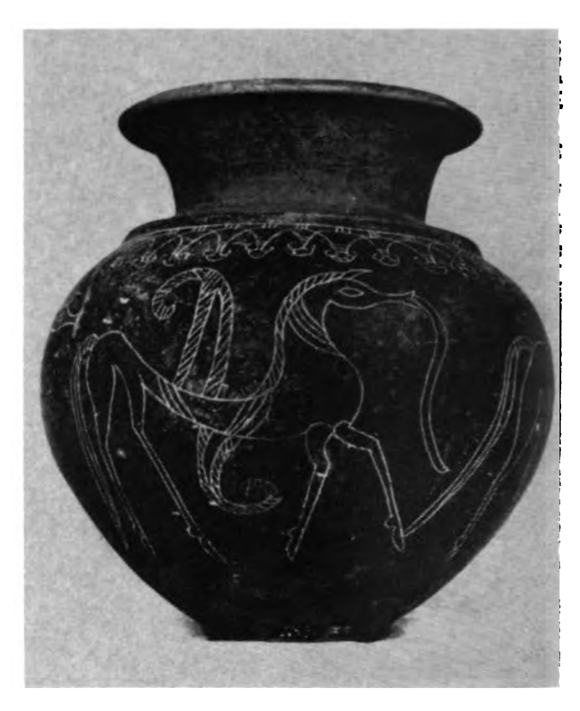


Fig. 6. Museo di Villa Giulia.



Fig. 7. Particolare di kantharos. Museo di Villa Giulia.

zata dall'introduzione di forme nuove, accanto al lento trasformarsi di forme locali. Il repertorio tipologico comprende: l'olla, il sostegno, il kantharos, l'oinochoe, lo skyphos, i piatti su piede, i calici.

L'attento esame della tipologia delle forme, della tecnica di esecuzione e dei motivi decorativi, ci permette di distinguere questi vasi in due gruppi, che rappresentano due periodi successivi di una stessa produzione. Il gruppo più antico è caratterizzato da una decorazione incisa o dipinta con motivi di repertorio geometrico, il gruppo più recente da una decorazione graffita o excisa[10] o dipinta, con motivi di repertorio "orientalizzante".

Il repertorio capenate della fase "orientalizzante", alla quale va riferita l'olla in esame comprende: il cavallo, il felino, il grifo, il capride.

Il cavallo ricorre molto spesso su olle e sostegni, in teorie di tre o quattro figure gradienti verso destra (figg. 5 e 6) o in schema araldico di due figure affrontate, separate da un motivo vegetale.

[10] La decorazione graffita era eseguita mediante punta metallica, dopo una prima essiccazione del vaso, e veniva riempita da una pasta bianca colorata in rosso. Nella decorazione excisa si procedeva dapprima a segnare con una punta il contorno della figura e si asportava quindi, a crudo, uno strato d'argilla all'interno di essa.

Fig. 8. Museo di Villa Giulia.



Fig. 9. Museo di Villa Giulia.



La figura felina è rappresentata gradiente, con fauci spalancate e zampe terminanti con artigli, generalmente alata. Frequente è anche il tipo rappresentato nell'atto di divorare una gamba umana[11]. Il felino compare comunemente in teorie di tre o quattro animali gradienti verso destra su olle, sostegni, coperchi; più raramente lo troviamo, isolato, sui lati dei kantharoi.

La presenza di un'elegante coppa di bronzo sbalzato, decorata da una teoria di felini alati, rinvenuta in una fossa con loculo della prima metà del VII secolo[12] e che ritengo di produzione orientale[13] può indicarci il modo in cui i motivi del repertorio "orientalizzante" sono giunti a Capena e vi sono stati, successivamente, imitati.

Ma piu che da qualche raro prodotto di diretta importazione orientale, i motivi del repertorio orientalizzante capenate dovettero derivare dalle imitazioni che di tali prodotti si fecero ben presto nei centri dell'Etruria meridionale costiera.

Gli imbastarditi motivi del repertorio orientalizzante capenate sono, infatti, solo una lontana eco dei loro prototipi orientali; più strette invece sono le analogie con i motivi decorativi dei bronzi e degli avori etruschi.

Osservando l'olla del Medelhavsmuseet, appare chiaro che il figulo che ne curò il graffito interpretò a suo modo i motivi del repertorio orientalizzante, complicando le figure con elementi decorativi che le dissolvono in un puro schema ornamentale. Particolarmente interessante è la protome caprina con cui termina l'ala sul dorso dell'animale. Analogo motivo si ritrova su un kantharos della necropoli di S. Martino[14] (fig. 7).

L'olla presa in esame, simile a molte altre delle necropoli capenati doveva, al pari di queste, poggiare su un alto supporto, pure d'impasto e con decorazione analoga, formato da un'alta base troncoconica a pareti concave e da un catino di forma emisferica, uniti da un elemento globulare di raccordo (figg. 8 e 9).

Completavano la suppellettile delle tombe capenati, riferibili al periodo cui appartiene il vaso suddetto: vasi di bucchero sottile, di argilla figulina italoprotocorinzia e italocorinzia, in prevalenza aryballoi.

Elementi di datazione per questa produzione di ceramica d'impasto, ci sono offerti da uno studio tipologico e stilistico, convalidato dai pochi dati offerti dalla ceramica d'argilla figulina importata, che inducono a datare questa produzione nella seconda metà del VII secolo a.C.

Entro questi limiti cronologici va posta l'olla del Medelhavsmuseet e la tomba della cui suppellettile faceva parte.

[11] Per questo motivo, largamente diffuso nella produzione etrusca della ceramica dipinta, nel bucchero, nel bronzo sbalzato e negli avori, cfr. S. Ferri, Tiriolo, NSc 1927, p. 353; J. Szilagyi, Italo-Corinthiaca, StEtr XXVI, 1958, p. 266 ss.

[12] La coppa, attualmente al Museo Pigorini in Roma (inv.n. 74446), è stata pubblicata per la prima volta da R. Paribeni, in MALinc cit., p. 418 ss., tav. I.

[13] Questa coppa, che costituisce un *unicum* nella suppellettile delle tombe capenati, è tra i pezzi più belli della bronzistica orientalizzante in Italia. Più volte studiata e riprodotta, è stata recentemente ripresa in esame da W. Llewellin Brown, The Etruscan Lion, Oxford, 1960, p. 9 ss. Questi non avendola vista direttamente, la dice in pessimo stato di conservazione, eseguita con tecnica non accurata e di probabile fabbricazione etrusca. Un attento studio di questo bronzo, che è in buono stato di conservazione ed eseguito con tecnica accurata, mi ha fatto rilevare la grande affinità che esso presenta col sostegno Barberini (cfr. W. Llewellin Brown, op. cit., tavv. V b1, b2) a cui deve ritenersi vicina per stile e datazione. Al pari del sostegno, la cui fabbricazione orientale è stata più volte affermata, la ritengo un prodotto di diretta importazione orientale.

[14] Il vaso si trova, al pari degli altri riprodotti per confronto in questo articolo, nel Museo di Villa Giulia a Roma (inv. n. 29194, t. CXIV).



A Horseman from Asia Minor

ÅKE ÅKERSTRÖM

Last year, on two different occasions, there were sold at Sotheby's in London a number of architectural terracottas[1], comprising sima-tiles, revetment plaques with a flange at the top[2], both with swastikas or a meander pattern, semicircular palmette antefixes and finally a series of a combined lateral sima—geison revetment, decorated with a horseman and a griffin. One fairly complete horseman tile together with a more fragmentary one were acquired by the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, Stockholm. These are the pieces I shall deal with here[3].

As is well known, the fashion of protecting and decorating a building with terracotta was widely spread in the Greek and Italic world. The invention is to be ascribed to Corinth, whose manufacture of terracotta revetments started in the second half of the 7th century. The idea was taken up in the West in Sicily, South Italy and Etruria/Latium, in the East in Asia Minor. The manufacture in these districts assumed a very individual character. The 6th century is the most brilliant period of architectural terracotta decoration in Greece itself, in the West and in the East[4].

Of the types mentioned above, the first three (sima-tiles, revetment plaques with a top flange and the antefixes) have been met with before as coming from Asia Minor, more precisely from the "Phrygian" district. The last-mentioned, the combined sima—geison revetment (with the horseman and griffin) will be reconstructed and examined below. This particular shape is a novelty, but understandable only as coming from the same general district. As far as I can see, all these types form parts of one and the same architectural terracotta decoration.

1. Inv. MM 1964:17 (Fig. 1). Clay light brown, grey in the core owing to insufficient firing, with mica and an admixture of chamotte. The surface has been smoothed; it is covered with a rose-coloured slip. Paint in two matt colours, reddish-brown and black.
   The tile consists of two separate parts joined at right angle, a vertical revetment tile with

[1] Sotheby, sale of 24th Feb. 1964, Cat., lots 50—64, and of 6th July 1964, Cat., lots 45—56. From a private collection in Switzerland.

[2] Sima for the raking cornice or, more probably, for the horizontal geison of the façade cf. Sotheby, sale of 6th July, lot 52. Revetment tile with a flange at the top *op. cit.* lots 48—51. This is what I call "Schenkelplatte" in my monograph Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens, 1965 (s.v. Gordion und Pazarli) and fig. 73:1.

[3] I should like to thank Mr. Bror Millberg of the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, Stockholm, and Mr. J.E. Sjöberg for their help with the reconstruction Fig. 4.

[4] Cf. my Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasiens, 1965.

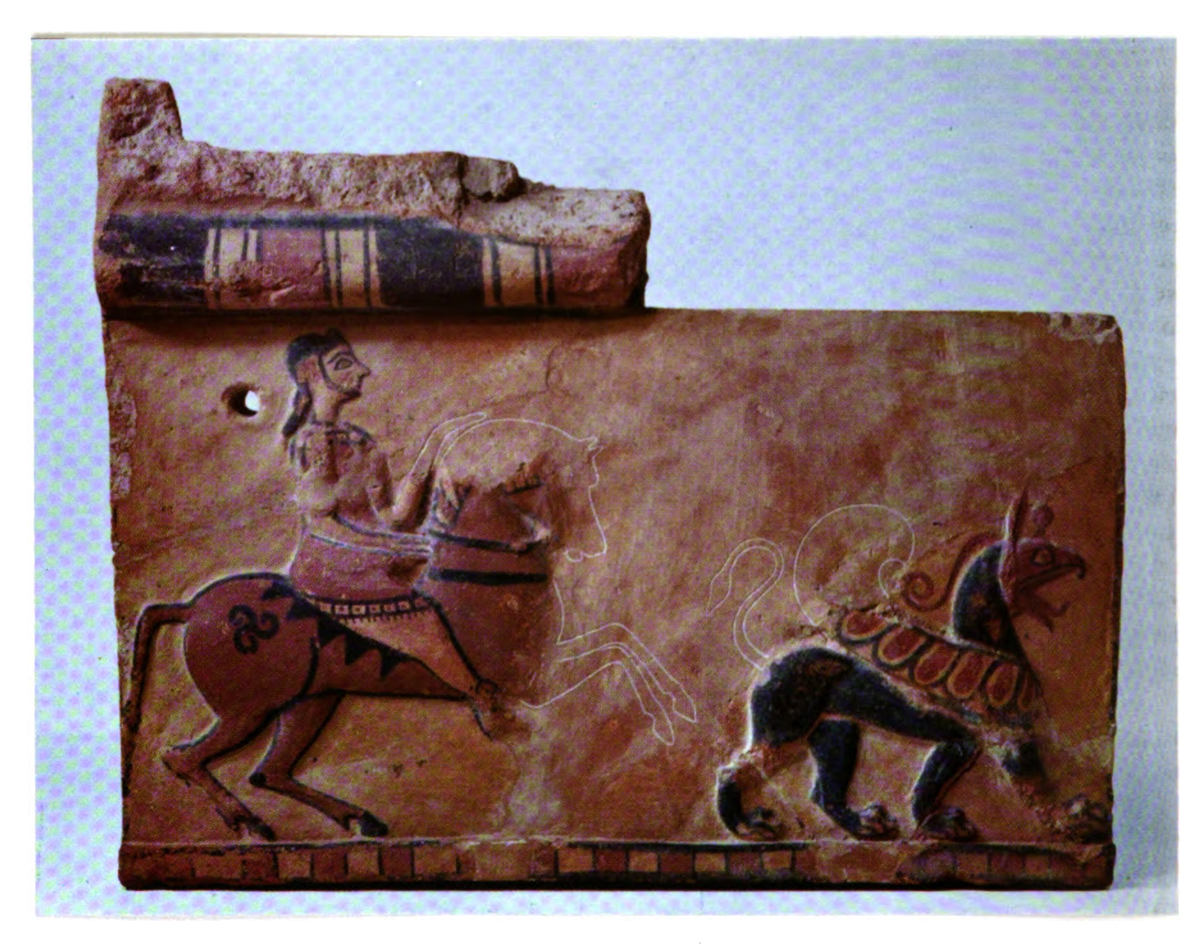


Fig. 1. Terracotta tile from Asia Minor. Medelhavsmuseet, MM 1964:17.

two nail-holes (one of them preserved) and a horizontal part which is a plain sima-tile. Left half of the plaque well preserved. Part of the horizontal sima-tile with the left raised side edge. Below it a torus crowning the figured field. Right half largely restored in plaster. At the bottom a square edging. The figures represented are a horse and horseman, the latter in "tricots", preceded by a winged griffon towards the right. Part of the horse's head and breast, and the forelegs missing. Of the griffin the tail and part of the wing likewise missing. H. 35.3; L. 44.5 cm. Average thickness 3 cm.

2. Inv. MM 1964:18 (Fig. 2). Clay and technique as no. 1. Left half of the vertical tile with horse and horseman. Lower part of the horse's forelegs missing. Only traces of slip and colours left. H. 33; L. 24.5 cm. Thickness as no. 1.

This type of terracotta is interesting. The vertical part with the nail-holes resembles the regular "flange-tile" ("Schenkelplatte"), which is also represented in the present group of terracottas. But in this case the horizontal part is not a plain flange but an eaves tile, which has been made into a primitive sima. For, if we examine it more closely, it becomes clear that the side edge must

have continued also along the front which is now missing (Fig. 3). Consequently, there must have been an outlet for water. Of the spout nothing is preserved, but naturally it had its place in the middle of the tile, where there is, in fact, a break. The spout itself must have been a plain one, just an outlet, certainly like the one we have from Neandria[5]. The latter has been used for our reconstruction (Fig. 4).

A combined sima—geison revetment is in itself no novelty. There are two pretentious specimens from the Mainland, one from Corfu and another from Delphi[6]. Possibly there is also one from Asia Minor, viz. if I am right in my construction of some fragments from Sardis, which are in Princeton[7]. This one is fairly elaborate, too. But the plain, provincial type we have to deal with here, has not come to light earlier. So much for the type.

The horse and horseman occupy the left half, or a little more than half, of the plaque. The horse is rearing as if it were starting a gentle gallop. It has a saddle-cloth, bridle and breast-strap; on the hindquarters a triskelion in paint. The rider holds the reins in his right hand, his left seems to be patting the neck and mane of the horse[8]. He is bearded, has long hair and a forelock. He wears a jacket with short sleeves; round the neck a border, at the lower end a border and fringe. He also wears shoes. The griffin is of heavy, muscular form. On the head of the griffin the usual "knob"; a spiral grows out from behind its ear. The wing is decorated with a cymatium.

Colouring. Black: Outline of horse and rider; hair and beard of rider; breast-strap, saddle-cloth, hoofs and ornament on the hindquarters of the horse; griffin, except head; horizontal bordering lines of torus and of lower square edging. Red: Jacket, ear, shoes of rider, horse, head of griffin, "leaves" of cymatium on the wing.

Trousers of the rider in the rose of the slip. Alternating red and rose: Horse's mane. Upper torus divided in alternating black, red and rose fields. Lower edging red and rose squares.

Horses and griffins are often used to form an antithetic group in East Greek art. Such horses are known from the Caeretan hydriae (whose painter undoubtly is East Greek in origin)[9]. Antithetic horses of the same sort also occur on sima-tiles from Sardis[10]. The griffins are also always used for antithetic groups on East Greek lateral simas, e.g. in Sardis, in Lampsakos and on a third piece which I take for North Ionian[11].

In this case, however, the artist took one horse and one griffin to form a procession. The result is that whereas the horse fills its half of the figured field properly, a large empty space is left above the griffin. The artists of the workshops on the coast would never try that sort of unbalanced composition.

As to the type of horse, I have just referred to those of the Caeretan hydriae and of the sima-tiles from Sardis. They are all from one and the same stable, but they behave differently. The Caeretan ones rear like circus-horses, those from Sardis are also fairly elegant; ours is somewhat heavier. The general character is provincial, but this heavier type could well derive from a South Ionian counterpart or even forerunner of the Caeretan horses or of those from Sardis[12].

[5] R. Koldewey, Neandria (51. Berl. Winckelmanns-progr., 1891), 46, fig. 66. The antefixes are here meant to rest on the front edge of the tile. They could also overhang the front and conceal the joint of the tiles. This depends on how the cover tile was attached to the antefix. In our case the antefix was overhanging (Fig. 4).

[6] E.D. van Buren, Greek fict. rev., pl. XIX:62—63 and XXV:88 (the poor photograph does not do any justice to the piece).

[7] Cf. my Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasiens, fig. 24:1.

[8] For some of these details cf. also Sotheby, sale of 6th July 1964, lots 45—47. Possibly the patting gesture of the left hand is a misunderstanding of the holding of the reins, as represented on "Clazomenian" vases; cf. *CVA* Gr. Brit. XIII, pl. 588:4 (and 6).

[9] *Mon. Piot* 48:2, 1956, pl. VI, and my Archit. Terrakotten Kleinasiens, fig. 69:2. (The horseman frieze from Larisa, *Larisa* II, 54, fig. 15 differs.)

[10] *Op. cit.* pl. 40 and figs. 21—22.

[11] *Op. cit.* pl. 42; fig. 3; pl. 16:1.

[12] I should like to add that the saddle-cloth with its scalloped edging is known to us from the "Clazomenian" vases. *CVA* Gr. Brit. XIII, pl. 585:1—2 (cf. R. M. Cook, Gr. Paint. Pott., pl. 32 B) and 593:1. J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship, 1961, 79: saddle-cloth with scalloped edging in Ionia. Persian influence has been suggested.



Fig. 2. Fragment of terracotta tile. Medelhavsmuseet, MM 1964:18.

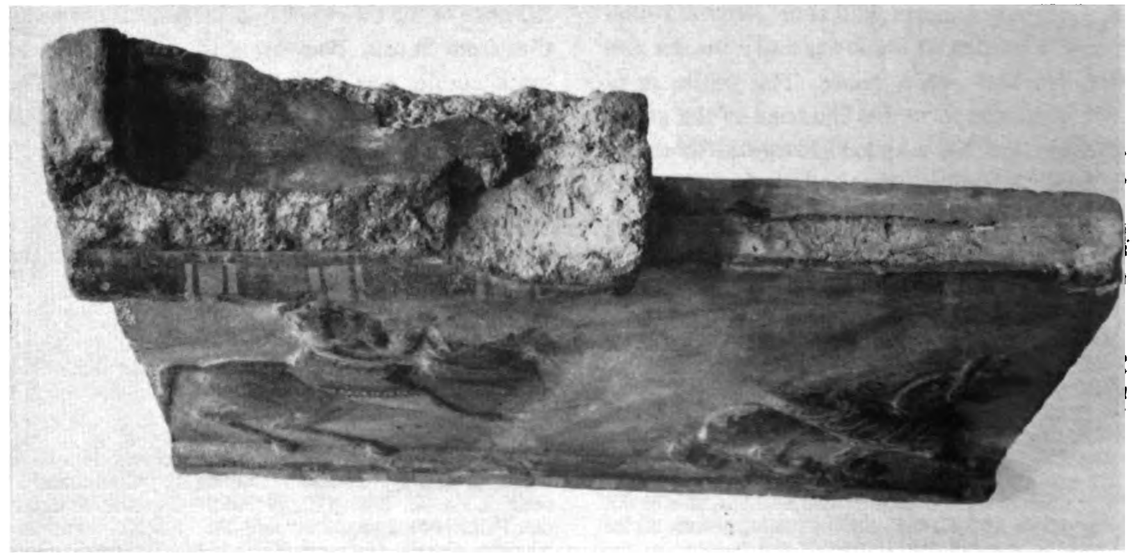


Fig. 3. The horseman plaque Fig. 1 taken from above, showing left preserved part of the horizontal plain sima-tile. In the middle traces of the water-spout.

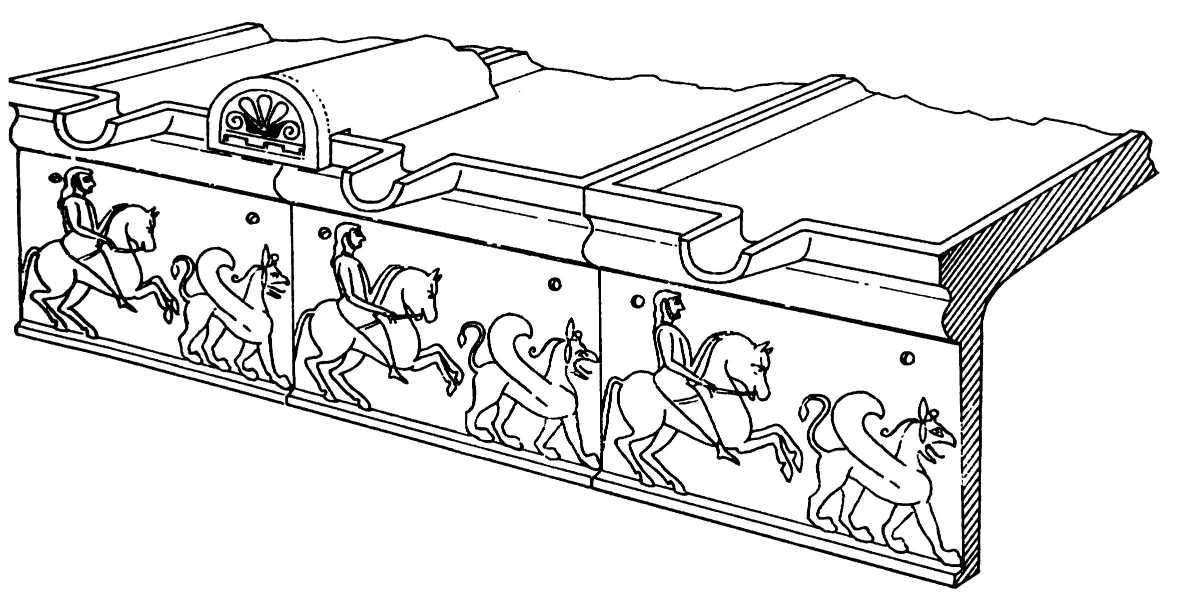


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the combined lateral sima-geison revetment, with cover-tile and antefix.

What has been said of the horses holds good also for the griffin.

There has always been much travelling on horseback in Anatolia. The fact that we are on an Eastern route is already indicated by the somewhat provincial apparation of the horse and the griffin. Moreover, the horseman's dress is Persian. The only thing missing is the cap. But I suspect the forelock to be Eastern[13].

Horsemen are generally out for warfare or hunting. Ours has no weapons for fighting and no equipment for hunting. He is just enjoying himself—as it were, setting out for a ride over the plain. That is what makes this decoration, subjectively, so pleasing and so entertaining. We do not know if the artist, presumably a Greek, wanted to display with his Persian some sort of ethnographic interest. Anyhow, it is interesting to state that he had nothing against depicting one of those Eastern foreigners who were in those days his masters.

[13] Cf. F. SARRE, Die Kunst des Alten Persien, 1922, pl. 42. O. M. DALTON, The Treasure of the Oxus, 1905, Pl. XIII:48.

The type of tile, the comparisons made above with East Greek horses and griffins and, on the other hand, the Persian character of the horseman indicate that the workshop should be sought somewhere between the Ionian coast and the Phrygian interior.

As to the dating I think it is sufficient to recall comparisons and suggestions made above. Our horseman plaque—and the whole building revetment connected with it—can be dated to the 3rd quarter of the 6th century, not earlier, possibly somewhat later.

A New Variant of the Helena Myth

OLOF VESSBERG

In 1963, thanks to a generous donation from His Majesty the King, an Etruscan bronze mirror with a very interesting figured scene on the engraved side was purchased in Switzerland[1], Figs. 1–2.

In the centre of the picture there are two young men, dressed in sleeveless girdled tunics, high-laced sandals and Phrygian caps, and both armed with lance and sword. The man to the right also wears a *chlamys* fastened with a button at his right shoulder. They both grasp with their right hands a windlass and a rope leading down into a well-curb. Out of the mouth of the well-curb a human head peeps forth and this figure grasps the rope with its right hand. In the background of this scene a building is visible. One can see an architrave divided into two *fasciae*, which rests on fluted columns with capitals of Aeolic type. The roof is bordered by semicircular antefixes. A broad profiled fillet to the right of the right-hand column can be supposed to belong to a doorway. Owing to the slightly perspective drawing one might also consider this detail to belong to the gable of the building.

The representation is flanked by two figures. To the right a man is seated with naked upper body and a mantle draped over his legs. On his curling wavy hair he wears a conical cap, a *pilos*. His left hand is raised in what could be called a discussion gesture (with the thumb against the forefinger forming a ring). He seems to converse with the left flanking figure, which makes a similar gesture with its right hand.

This man wears a Phrygian cap, high-laced sandals and a mantle around his back. A flap of the mantle falls down below his right arm. He is naked otherwise and leans forward over the scene in the middle. His left hand rests on a staff-like object, which is more like a short stick than a lance. The figure softly follows the rounding of the picture-field.

The inscriptions give certain information about what the scene represents. On the well-curb is written 𐌉𐌄𐌍𐌄𐌋𐌄𐌇, Helenei, and inscriptions on the frame of the mirror, which appeared more clearly after the restoration, give the names of the two flanking figures. Beside the man to the left is written 𐌆𐌉𐌖𐌌𐌉𐌈𐌄, Ziumithe, Diomedes, and beside the seated man

[1] MM 1963:2. The handle (or the tang) is broken near the base, otherwise the mirror is well preserved. It was, however, rather badly tarnished by oxidation which partly concealed the engraving and the inscriptions. It has been cleaned by Dr. E. B. Blomberg. The dimensions are: Diam. 13.7 cm.; Height, including the broken handle, 19.0 cm.; Thickness of the disk 0.2 cm.



Fig. 1. Etruscan bronze mirror, MM 1963: 2, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

to the right ƎYƧOV, Uthste, Odysseus. Thus, the picture seems to show how Helena is windlassed up out of or down into a well in the presence of Diomedes and Odysseus.

The mirror has one more inscription. On the frame immediately above the windlass is written ᗅИΘᗅ⅃ᗅ, Alathna. This is probably the owner's designation. Presumably Alathna is identical with Alethna, the name of a well-known Viterbo family[2].

The picture-field is framed by a somewhat schematically drawn leaf-wreath, tied around with lined bands in four places, down at the handle, up at the top, and at the sides. Of the handle not more than the hilt is preserved, decorated with a leaf-ornament. The reflecting side of the mirror is framed by a profiled egg-moulding, and the hilt is on this side decorated with a simple leaf-ornament, somewhat blurred by oxidation.

Our mirror brings the hitherto unique motif on a mirror in the Museo Archeologico in Florence[3] one step closer to its solution, Figs. 3–4. For this shows the same scene with only unimportant differences, but it lacks inscriptions. The group is exactly the same and the differences concern only details. Ulysses is here dressed in a short tunic or ἐξωμίς, the youths at the windlass lack headgear and Diomedes has a slightly different attitude as he raises his left hand grasping a lance, and keeps his right hand resting on his hip.

Klügmann-Körte thought that the notable, quite unique motif on this mirror recalled the story of the death of Palamedes as described in Dictys Cretensis II, 15. Diomedes and Odysseus, who wanted to kill Palamedes, made him believe that a treasure had been found in a well and that they wished to share it with him. They enticed him to descend into the well and stoned him there.

The mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet belongs, as the one just mentioned, to a late group of Etruscan mirrors, which have been brought together by J. D. Beazley under the name Group or Class Z[4]. This group is rather heterogeneous, consisting of hundreds of mirrors where, properly, the late dating would seem to be the common element. Reinhard Herbig has picked out from this Class Z of Beazley a group of mirrors which he calls "Die Kranzspiegelgruppe", and as a basis for this grouping he has put the frame-ornaments of the mirrors, "den Stachelkranz"[5]. In other words, these mirrors are of the same type as our mirror in Stockholm dealt with here.

The surrounding wreath on these mirrors is drawn in a very special way, which clearly indicates that they come from the same workshop. The wreath seems thick or compact and each layer has three, in some cases four leaf-tips, strikingly pointed or thorny. The wreath is held together by ribbons or cases drawn with lines in different ways (parallel lines, angles, diagonal checkerings). J. D. Beazley[6] was the first to call attention to these "cases", which he also found on the so-called *bakchoi*, the bundles of twigs which are worn by the participators in Dionysian and Eleusinian cult representations, and which are held together by similar cases. Such "*bakchos* rings" are often represented separately on coins and vases. Beazley interpreted the mirror ornament as a together-bent *bakchos*, which is hard to believe, while Herbig rightly regards it as simply a garland or a wreath.

The early dating of mirrors of this type

[2] M. Pallottino, Elementi di lingua etrusca, p. 101; for the tomb of the Alethna family in Civita di Musarna at Viterbo see R. Herbig, Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage, pp. 75 ff.

[3] Etruskische Spiegel, herausg. von E. Gerhard (in the following abbreviated to E.S.), Vol. 5, bearbeitet von A. Klügmann und G. Körte, p. 149, Taf. 111. For the photograph of the mirror in Florence (Inv. No. 605) I wish to thank Prof. Giacomo Caputo.

[4] EVP, 1947, pp. 130 ff.; JHS 69, 1949, pp. 1 ff., spec. pp. 16 f. Cf. for this group Sybille Haynes, MdI VI (1953), pp. 29 f.

[5] St. Etr. 24, 1955, pp. 183 ff.

[6] Num. Chr. 1941, pp. 1 ff.



Fig. 2. MM 1963:2. Drawing by B. Millberg.

suggested by Beazley[7], viz. to the late fourth century or the third century B.C., has deservedly been criticized by Herbig, who places them in the second and the last century B.C.[8] I will briefly call attention to some facts of importance for the dating.

Herbig points to the enormous wave of curls, often executed in a mannered way, which surrounds the faces of the figures, as a late Hellenistic feature and looks for parallels in the sculpture. He selects a late terracotta sarcophagus from Tuscania[9], where the same mannered type of hair can be seen on the lid figure, with curls formed into concentric semiellipses. This can be supplemented by several examples of late Hellenistic Etruscan sculpture. I will only mention two, a votive head from Civita Castellana[10] and the well-known group in Volterra with a man and a woman on a lid of a cinerary urn[11]. The woman's hair, combed smooth over

[7] Num. Chr. 1941, p. 7; JHS, 1949, p. 17.

[8] St. Etr. 24, 1955, pp. 194 f. Cf. for the chronology G. A. MANSUELLI, St. Etr. 20, 1949, p. 92, serie uniforme dei "Maestri delle Lase e dei Dioscuri".

[9] G. Q. GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 392:1.

[10] GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 420:2.

[11] GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Tav. 414:2; O. VESSBERG, Studien zur Kungstgeschichte der römischen Republik, pp. 242 f., Taf. 88:2.



Fig. 3. Etruscan bronze mirror, Museo Archeologico, Florence.

the crown and surrounded by a wreath of curls, corresponds well with the mirror hair-types, for instance on the above-mentioned mirror in Florence.

This mannered treatment of the curls is also found on coins from the first half of the last century B.C.[12]

[12] H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I, pp. 343 f.; III, Pl. 40:9 (85 – 82 B.C).

The coins, which in their composition can naturally be compared with the bronze mirrors, often have during the period ca. 100 – 50 B.C. a leaf-wreath surrounding the picture-field in the same way as on the mirrors. Particularly similar is the wreath on the reverse of Manius Fonteius' denars from about 85 B.C.[13] I believe this corresponding detail in the composition of the mirrors and of the coins is of great importance for the dating problem.

Finally, it should be noted that if we have justly found an owner's name in the word Alathna on the mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet, then we have every reason to connect it with the known Viterbo family of Alethna. This family had its time of prosperity during the last two centuries B.C., as its great tomb-structure in Civita di Musarna at Viterbo shows[14].

The idea as to the reliability of the inscriptions which is expressed by the editor of the fifth volume of Etruskische Spiegel, G. Körte, that "für die Deutung der Darstellungen von den Inschriften völlig abgesehen werden muss", is quite erroneous. It is more important to say that the inscriptions are often the only help in interpreting the representations on the Etruscan mirrors. In E.S. 44 mirrors are reproduced which can be placed in the "pointed-wreath group". Of these 22 bear inscriptions[15]. Only in one case is the inscription obviously wrong. On the mirror E.S. 5, 87:2 a male figure, equipped with two hunting-spears, has been designated as *Artumes* (Artemis)[16]. It is true, as Körte points out, that typical or conventional figures are given different names on different mirrors. This, however, does not mean that the inscriptions

[13] Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic I, pp. 322 f.; III, Pl. 38:11 – 13 (Manius Fonteius' denars).

[14] Herbig, Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage, p. 76.

[15] These are the following: E.S. 1, 59:2 and 3; 2, 235:2; 3, 255B; 3, 255C; 3, 257:1; 3, 260:2; 4, 284:1; 4, 346; 4, 382:1 and 2; 4, 385; 5, 84:2; 5, 85:1 and 2; 5, 87:1 and 2; 5, 88:2; 5, 98:1 and 2; 5, 110; 5, 118.

[16] It must be emphasized that in 1878 this mirror was in the market in Rome and can now hardly be traced. An incorrect drawing is possible.

are incorrect or put there by chance, but is due to the engraver's inability to characterize the persons. He reproduces stereotyped models, and what gives the picture its identification is the inscriptions.

It is of course more difficult to check the connection between inscriptions and picture when the scene only represents a group of figures without action. It is easier when it concerns more dramatic scenes. Among the mirrors just mentioned there are several such scenes. I will briefly draw attention to some of them in order to illustrate the relation between inscription and picture.

The engraving of the mirror E.S. 4, 284:1 represents the birth of Minerva. In the centre *Tinia* (Jupiter) is enthroned and *Menrfa* (Minerva), fully armed, springs from his head. He is surrounded by *Thalna*, an Etruscan female god or genius, and *Uni* (Juno). The scene is flanked by two armed youths, to the left *Lalan*, certainly the same name as the common *Laran*

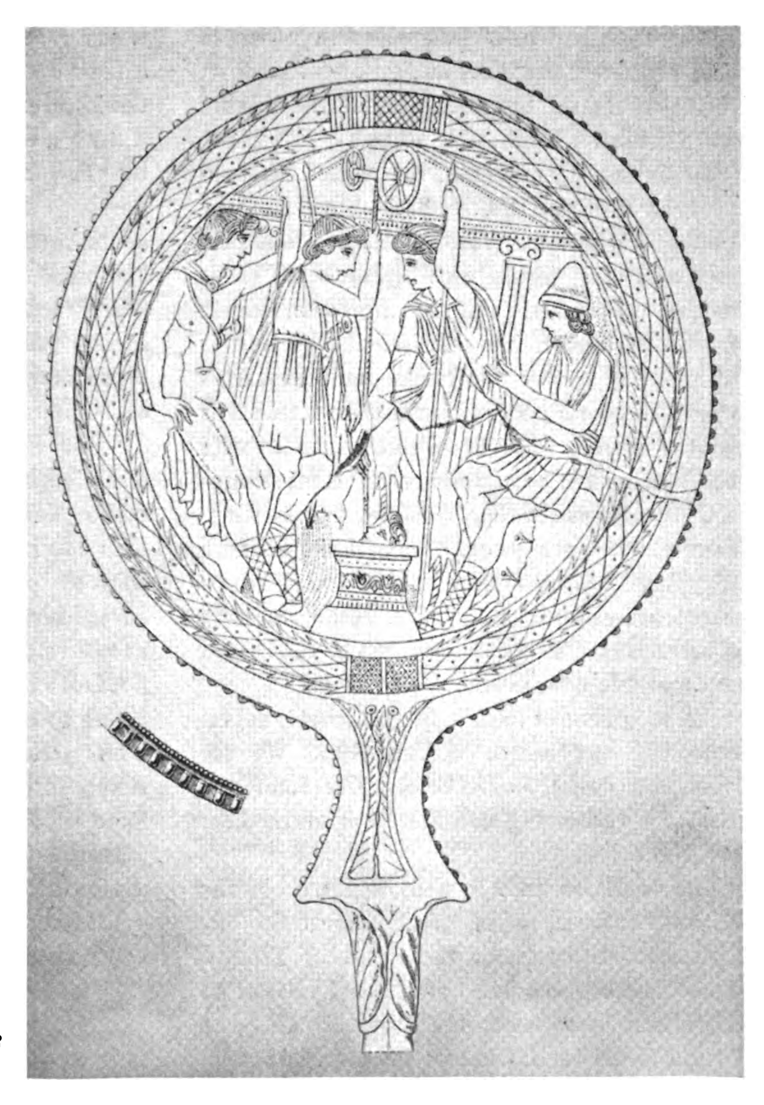


Fig. 4. The mirror in Florence of our Fig. 3 according to the drawing in E. S. 5,111.

and to the right *Preale*, which has been compared with the Latin proelium. Lalan has been combined with ἀλαλά, war-cry. There are strong reasons to suppose that these two figures are war-demons, which seem to be a natural Etruscan addition to the representation of the birth of the war-goddess.

The well-drawn scene on E.S. 4, 385 cannot be connected with any known tale. It represents *Clutmste* (Klytaimnestra), *Uthste* (Odysseus) and *Menle* (Menelaos) together with *Talmithe* (Palamedes), who sits in a pondering attitude. It has been supposed that the scene shows how Klytaimnestra asks advice and help in Aulis from the wise diviner Palamedes in order to escape Kalchas' prophecy and save her daughter. This is a logical interpretation of the picture which, however, cannot be proved.

An interesting mirror in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, E.S. 5, 88:2 shows how the supplicating *Eiasun* (Jason) clasps round the knee of a curly youth with *thyrsos* staff. He is *Fufluns* (Dionysos) and by his side stands *Aratha* (Ariadne). To the left the picture is delimited by *Castur* and to the right appears a winged boy on a podium, certainly a statue. His name is *Aminth*, which should be connected with the Latin *amor*. The representation seems strange in the tradition relating to Jason, but as Klügmann-Körte have pointed out there exists a story preserved by Dracontius X, 180 ff. which closely agrees with this picture. Jason who was to be sacrificed on the altar of Diana was helped by Amor and Dionysos.

The judgment of Paris is irreproachably represented on the mirror E.S. 5, 98:2. We see *Elachsntre* (Paris), *Turan* (Venus), *Uni* (Juno) and *(Me)nrva* (Minerva), and moreover all of them well characterized.

The scene on E.S. 5, 110, a mirror in the British Museum, is of great interest for our argument. It represents the death of Troilos. We see *Achle* (Achilleus) and *Evas* (Aias) at an altar. Achilleus holds the severed head of Troilos in his hand. Close to the dead body and the fallen horse at his feet is the inscription *Truil(e)*. To the left the picture is delimited by the Etruscan death-goddess *Vanth*, to the right appears a warrior rushing forward. It is *Echtur* (Hektor) who too late hurries to help.—Troilos' death is a subject often represented on Etruscan cinerary urns and also there Achilleus has a companion who on the mirror has been given his name, Aias[17]. This is an addition in the Etruscan representations which has no counterpart on the Greek vases, where Achilleus is alone. The altar is a new feature, too. The Etruscan representation must derive from a source other than epos. Perhaps Sophokles' tragedy Troilos or—what seems more likely—a later dramatic work, possibly by someone of the Latin tragedians.

Such a work one also surmises as background for the picture on the mirror E.S. 5, 118. The mirror is a tomb-find from Vulci and belonged at the time of publication in E.S. to the Museo Torlonia. In the picture appears *Elachsntre* (Paris) seated in the centre. He rests his head on his hand with a sorrowful and irresolute expression. He carries a sword in a baldric and holds his left hand against his shield. To the right is *Priumne* (Priamos) enthroned in Oriental royal dress. He rests his left hand on a knotted stick and makes a gesture with the right. It may be a gesture of discussion or perhaps he is pointing towards the background. At his side stands *Ecapa* (Hekabe) with her face turned to him. *Echtur* (Hektor) flanks the scene to the left. He sits facing Paris and, like him, carries a sword. He looks serious and meditative. *Elinai* (Helena) stands turned towards him and keeps her right hand against her face—she may possibly be putting two fingers on her mouth. Unfortunately, the picture is damaged and indistinct here.

One cannot speak of a real action in this scene, but it does not consist either of a meaning-

[17] E. BRUNN, I rilievi delle urne etrusche, 1, Tav. 54:14, 56:18, 62—65.



less ranging of uncharacterized figures. It has a sentiment which connects it with the content of the third book of the Iliad, where Paris through Hektor's reproaches is forced to fight in single combat against Menelaos. The picture does not adhere in detail to the action of the Iliad, but it gives a telling characterization of Paris' irresolution, which is a dominating motif in this book.

Helena with her family circle belong to the most popular motifs in Etruscan art, richly represented not only on the mirrors but also on bronze cistae, cinerary urns and vases[18]. Helena and Paris are often portrayed on the mirrors just as a famous pair of lovers without closer reference to any special action, e.g. on a mirror in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which represents two loving couples in elegant statuary poses, Achilles and Chryseis (perhaps confused with Briseis) and Helena and Paris[19]. Helena can occur alone being attired by servants in the presence of Turan (Aphrodite). The interpretation of these mirrors is disputed, however[20]. She can occur in her original family circle together with her brothers Kastor and Pollux[21]. But above all the tale of Troy is her setting, in which she is described in a multitude of different relationships, often in scenes which quite diverge from the epos or from the representations in Greek pictorial art and therefore are difficult to interpret or quite incomprehensible. One may distinguish between two main groups of motifs and could entitle them Helena in Sparta and Helena in Troy. To the former group belong representations of Paris' arrival, the persuasion of Helena sometimes in the presence of Turan, and the abduction of Helena. The last-mentioned motif is popular on the cinerary urns. An example of the second group has already been mentioned with the engraving on the mirror E.S. 5, 118. It is so to speak a quiet genre scene of Helena's life in Troy, where the principal persons are represented. Judging from the published material it seems to be unique. A more common motif, on the other hand, is Menelaos' and Helena's encounter in Troy.

In Homer we find the main outline of the Helena myth. In the Iliad it is related how she followed Paris to Troy and on several occasions during the war she appears in the poem as a principal character. In the Odyssey the action continues in some episodes. She receives Odysseus hospitably as he, disguised as a beggar, visits Troy in order to reconnoitre and she helps him[22], but on the other hand she tries to help the Trojans by enticing the Greeks in the wooden horse to reveal themselves[23]. Her stay in Egypt during the return to Sparta is touched upon[24], and in the frame story in the fourth book of the Odyssey she is rehabilitated as a splendid queen in Sparta again.

Thus Menelaos' and Helena's meeting in the Iliu Persis is not described in Homer. The destinies of Helena were further developed by the Cyclic poets and in the later literature, among others by Stesichoros and Herodotos and the Attic tragedians. The rhetorical authors made use of her story and her vicissitudes were parodied in the comedies. She lives in the Alexandrian literature and Theokritos sings of her beauty in his eighteenth Idyll. Also in the Latin literature she is a motif often used.

On a mirror with inscription in the British Museum[25] Menelaos' and Helena's encounter in the Iliu Persis is represented. The same motif is repeated on other mirrors without inscription. Helena has fled to the Palladion, which she embraces pursued by Menelaos with drawn sword. He grasps her by the hair ready to

[18] E.S. 3, pp. 174 ff. and passim; LILLY B. GHALI-KAHIL, Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène dans les Textes et les Documents Figurés, pp. 261 ff.
[19] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, GISELA RICHTER, Handbook of the Etruscan Collection, p. 51, Fig. 149; GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., p. 269, Pl. XCIII:1.
[20] GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., pp. 264 f.
[21] E.S. 5, 78.

[22] Od. IV, 240 ff.
[23] Od. IV, 275 ff.
[24] Od. IV, 126.
[25] E.S. 4, 398; GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., p. 270, Pl. 94:1.

strike. He is held back by Thetis, who seizes him by the arm and Aphrodite stands in the background with her eyes fixed on him. To the right of the Athena statue stand Aias and *Phulphsna* who is probably identical with Polyxena.

Though here iconographically influenced by the Kassandra motif the picture corresponds with the many representations on Greek vases showing Menelaos at the destruction of Troy pursuing Helena[26]. In a large group of such vase paintings (and also in the Parthenon metopes) Menelaos is hindered in his undertaking by a god, usually Aphrodite or Eros, and lets his sword fall vanquished by Helena's beauty. According to one statement Helena fled to the temple of Aphrodite[27] and according to another the Greeks intended to stone her[28]. In the rich tradition which was developed in the literature about the events concerning Helena at the fall of Troy—in the greater part preserved by pictorial art—the opinion of the Latin authors differs greatly, as Lilly B. Ghali-Kahil has shown[29], from the Greek view of Helena. While Helena among the Greeks preserves a divine splendour and is also capable of a certain rehabilitation, the Romans take a more realistic view. In Vergil she appears contemptible and odious to the Trojans as well as to the Greeks[30]. She led the attack of the Greeks with light signals[31] and betrayed her second Trojan husband Deiphobos[32]. She hid herself in Vesta's temple in fear of both Trojans and Greeks[33]. She is drawn in dark colours also by other Roman authors such as Horace[34] and Seneca[35].

Against this background of literary and iconographic tradition concerning the fate of Helena at the fall of Troy we have to consider the engraving on our mirror. There seems to be no doubt that the motif sphere is Iliu Persis. Odysseus and Diomedes and the men at the windlass who owing to the Phrygian caps seem to be Trojans show it clearly. But we are left in the lurch by both literary and iconographic aids when we try to interpret the picture more closely. There seem to be two ways of interpreting the situation. Odysseus and Diomedes have Helena lowered down into the well in order to hide and protect her from the fury of Menelaos and the Greeks—as thanks for the help she had given. Or they rescue her out of the well into which she had been lowered by the Trojans. Certainly the picture very much differs from the Greek vase paintings and also from the representation on other Etruscan mirrors which are wholly in the Greek tradition. The representation of Helena here has a burlesque and ridiculing character. We have reason to look for the origin of this new variant of the Helena myth in the Attic comedy, although most likely in the Italic theatre, in a tragedy, a comedy or perhaps a mime. The conventional palace background which is constant in the mirrors of the *Kranzspiegelgruppe* indicates that the source of inspiration is the theatrical stage.

[26] See GHALI-KAHIL, o.c., pp. 71 ff.
[27] Schol. Euripid. Andromache 628 ff. (Ibykos). Cf. Schol. Arist. Vesp. 714.
[28] Stesichoros Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1287.
[29] O.c., pp. 212 ff.
[30] 'Troiae et patriae communis Erinys', Aen. II, 573.
[31] Aen. VI, 515—519.
[32] Aen. VI, 523—527.
[33] Aen. II, 567—587.
[34] Sat. I, 3, 106—108.
[35] Cf. Troades, 866—867, 871—887.

Photos:

S. Hallgren, pp. 36 (Fig. 4), 50.

N. Lagergren, pp. 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 20, 27, 32, 33, 39, 43, 44, 52, 55.

Price: 20 Sw. crowns